# The Deliverance or the Escape

of

# Shivaji the Great from Agra

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"A meteor wert thou, in a darksome night.
Yet shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,
Stand in the spacious firmament of time,
Fixed as a star: such glory is thy right."

—*Wordsworth.*

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Rao Saheb G. K. alias
BABA SAHEB DESHPANDE.

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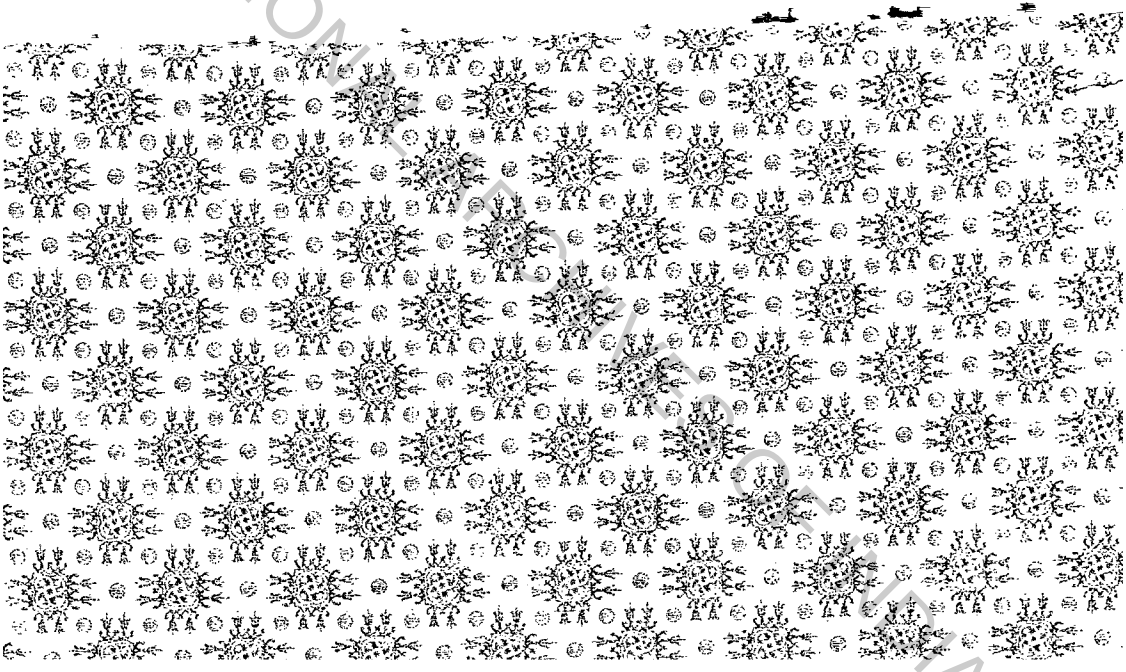

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Fragments from the History of the Marathas. Series No. 1.

# The Deliverance or the Escape

of

# Shivaji the Great from Agra

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BY

Rao Saheb G. K. alias BABA SAHEB DESHPANDE,

OF THE CLAN VISHWAMITRA

Retired Deputy Supdt. of Police, Intelligence Bureau, Home Dept. Government of India.

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Dedicated to the loving memory of my late lamented colleague and friend Mr. HARI GOVIND LIMAYE, M. A., Professor of History, Fergusson College, Poona, whose untimely death we all so deeply mourn.

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# FORE-WORD

Rao Saheb G. K. alias Baba Saheb Deshpande, the author of this book is a very old friend of mine. I have known him these forty years and more. I saw him first as a student in the Deccan Education Society's New English School, Poona. He was even in his boyhood a warm admirer of the founders of the Institution but particularly thought very highly of Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and Messrs. Agarkar and Tilak. He was a very diligent student and won easily the topmost place in Languages and History. He was a very amiable companion, was always full of high and noble ideals. His masculine optimism endeared him to all. He took most intense interest in the Drill classes and stood all the

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trials of hard work set to the Drill-students by Mr. Dixit, the then inexorable Drill-Sergeant in the New English School. Under him the New English School Drill classes all in white uniform presented an engaging and unique appearance. Mr. Caine M. P. who visited the New English School in 1888-89 (if I mistake not) humourously styled these squads as the "Congress Army." Baba Saheb was the Senior Captain of this band of young volunteers. This boy Captain had the honour of shaking hands with H. E. Lord Reay, the then Governor of Bombay, as the Senior Captain commanding a full company of volunteers. H. E. Lord Reay was immensely pleased with the Drill classes in the N. E. School.

2. After his Matriculation, most of us wished him to join the Fergusson College. I am sure, he might have distinguished himself in his college career. But Fate ordered otherwise. After being refused admittance in the army he was persuaded by his venerable father to join the Police service of which the father of Baba Saheb was a distinguished subordinate officer. His Drill exercises in the New English School stood him in good stead. He joined the Police Department with a

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musket on his shoulder! His physique and his regular habits helped him a great deal no doubt. But his tact, his energy, his sense of duty, his industry, the intelligent delight he took in the profession of his own choice, soon marked him out as one having in him the making of a competent officer. Mr. M. Kennedy, the then Superintendent of Police of the Poona District, immediately picked him up, took him into his own confidence, and taught him, young though Baba Saheb was, all the fundamental principles and secrets of the Police department. The sterling honesty and purity of character, coupled with close industry and dispatch, at once made him trusted by every one of his officers. Suffice it to say, that he rose from grade to grade aud at last secured a post of a very high responsibility. His bold attitude in the discharge of his duties, his intrepidity, his unshakeable sternness of character was marked, appreciated and highly admired by all his superiors. By his work he showed, that Government service was in no way a bar to further the rational interests of the Ryots. By his good work and persuasive eloquence he was able to bring round even Kolis, Ramoshis, and Bhils, the so called criminal tribes, to trust him. He induced them

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to lead a more moral life. He was not only popular where ever he was posted, but was admired, loved, and became the Ryots' friend and philosopher.

3. He was kind enough to tell me in 1896, that he entered the Police service with the object of purifying the service and that of teaching the people and the Government that the Police were the real guardians of peace and order. No doubt, agitation and discontent were rife in the land then, but wherever Baba-Saheb was, there was practically no disturbance. It was the lot of Baba Saheb, the trusted servant of Government, to investigate Political crime. The duties were arduous and would allow no rest. But even then he could snatch an hour or two to read and study Philology and History, his favourite subjects. Of his deep studies in Philology and other kindred subjects, I shall say nothing here. I shall only say a word or two in regard to his Historical studies.

4. A cursory survey of the Historical books he has read and the fine splendid collection of choice books he has in his library, would convince even a fastidious student of History, of what amount of keen interest he takes in History and especially the History of

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the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas like the Police services, have been much maligned, both by foreigners and by some of us, Indians. Baba Saheb wishes to correct these prejudiced impressions and this inimical attitude. An hour's serious conversation with him on History is always educative, refreshing and enlightening. He does not mince matters nor does he ever try to gloss over blemishes in the otherwise strong and stalwart character of the Mahratta race. He is able to quote a hundred and one instances in which a Mahratta soldier and a Mahratta diplomat would be shown to stand second to none, here, as well as elsewhere. The high sense of chivalry for instance shown by the great Shivaji on several occassions, the devoted loyalty of Balaji Awji and Khando Ballal, Baji Deshpande, Murar Baji, Prayag Prabhu, Tanaji Malusrey and others, the high patriotism that was discovered in Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadhao, Parashram Trimbak and Pralhad Niraji, Ramchandra Nilkanth and Shankraji Narayan, the superior generalship of Baji Rao I. and Mahadji Shinde, the astute diplomacy of Balajipant Nana Saheb Peshwa and Nana Fadnavis, the plainspokenness of Ramshastri Prabhune, the religious fervour of Shri Ramdas, and Narayan Maharaj Dixit of

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Kayagaon—but why multiply instances?—are to be marked, to be studied and to be always kept in sight, says Baba Saheb, when we are reading the History of the Mahrattas. And I believe, he is perfectly justified in telling us all these facts. Solid, indubitable facts are every day coming to light and are being corroborated, thanks to the patriotic labours of Rao Bahadurs Sane, and Parasnis, Messrs Rajwade, Patwardhan, Khare, Potdar, Apte, Divekar, Bendre, Joshi, Purandhare, Shankar Rao Deo, Sardesai, and others. We must begin to unlearn what we have been taught by our Historians. We are not a nation of what Professor Sir Jadunath Sarkar and Mr. Shejwalkar are pleased to say a nation taking delight only in "Finesse". We must from hence begin to see, that we Mahrattas were and would be Nation-builders, that we were on the threshold of raising a well-organised Indian Empire, that we were adepts in adapting ourselves to the environment and adopting the latter to our own national character. No mere freebooter can be a Shivaji, no wiseacre can be a Balaji pant Nana Saheb Peshwa. We have some defects, but, they are accidental and will be removed.

5. It is this lesson that Baba Saheb proposes to teach the young Maharashtrians.

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In this booklet, that has outgrown into a stout volume,-which is No. I of the series "Fragments from the History of the Mahrattas,"—Baba Saheb treats of a thrilling and romantic episode in the life of Shivaji, illustrating several peculiar types in the Mahratta character.

Every careful student of the History of the Mahrattas knows that, Shivaji "the mountain rat" of Aurangzeb, was, by his superior abilities, unerring tact, stern discipline, astounding patriotism, and by his amiable and God-loving temperament, able to weld the "separatist" Mahrattas into a united nation—our Maharashtra. His magnetic influence did and could command and secure the unstinted loyalty of strong, stalwart soldiers like Baji Deshpande, Tanaji Malusrey, and others and of statesmen like Moropant Pingle, Nilkanth and Abaji Sondeo, Raghunath Hanmante, and others. To be only seen by him was to be electrified by him. And so almost all his colleagues and servants devoted themselves heart and soul to labour for and to further the noble cause Shivaji had at heart. Many of them readily and willingly risked their lives and all, in successfully carrying out hazardous tasks their favourite leader

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had assigned to them. But one word of Shivaji was sufficient to rekindle in them all noble qualities of a hero. With these willing co-operatores Shivaji shared, it is needless to say, all the worries and hardships on the battlefield and the council chamber. No wonder then, that Shivaji like Napoleon, was all in all to them. No wonder, Shivaji was able with this hearty co-operation to found an independent Swarajya, inspite of stout and persistent opposition from the Mussalman powers of the Deccan and the Mogul power of the North.

6. In this story of the wonderful deliverance, Hiroji Farzand risked his life. "Bajis you will have many, sire, but Shivaji we have but one." said Baji Prabhu Deshpande, the Mahratta Leonidas at a critical moment and saved the life of Shivaji by devoting his own! Hiroji Farzand followed Baji; Tanaji and Pratap Rao followed suit. This heart-stirring sense of thorough loyalty was phenomenal and could be evoked only by a Shivaji, Baji Rao I, Madhao Rao I or Mahadji Shinde. Glorious times these when even a private soldier or a clerk could be a hero, a proto-type of Shivaji!

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But the uphill task of rousing the depressed and depreciated Mahrattas at once individualistic and indifferent, was in the beginning hard and arduous, demanding close and constant super-vision. But thanks this impossible feat was achieved by our Themistocles, the great Shivaji.

The story here narrated treats of Shivaji's deliverance (or rather the nation's deliverance). Here is depicted the Porus-like kingly behaviour of our unbending Shivaji in the presence of exacting Aurangzeb. Shivaji's intrepidity and his high sense of honour in the Mogul Darbar, his shrewdness, his presence of mind, his fertility of resources while in prison, the loyal services of Hiroji Farzand and Madari Mehtar and the far-seeing policy of Shri Ramdas are clearly in evidence here. Shivaji's escape is an unparalleled event in the History of the world. I may be bold to say it has changed the History of India if not that of the world. No wonder Shivaji came to be regarded as an incarnation of the great God Shankar. No wonder his safe arrival at his mountain capital of Rajgad encouraged all his followers to work with redoubled energy for the emancipation of their land and to hate the crafty and fanatic

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Aurangzeb, the incarnation of despotism, all the more bitterly for having intended to entrap Shivaji, their idol.

7. The collection of various notes and appendices, is, to say the least very informative and illuminating. In one of them there is an explicit suggestion that throws a flood of light upon the workings of Shivaji's mind, and solves the question as to why Shivaji went to Agra, inspite of the brilliant chances of defeating the Moguls in the Deccan.

The Mogul Emperor and Shivaji, the rising star of Maharashta were the bitter-most opponents of one another. In 1665 both of them talked of a friendly peace! But this amity was merely a cloak to cover mutually exclusive personal objectives. Aurangzeb hoped to lure Shivaji into the Imperial service and to make a cat's paw of him. The reduction of the two Mahomedan kingdoms and the settlement of the wild Afgan tribes through Shivaji, were the objectives of Aurangzeb, Shivaji gladly accepted the terms of peace on condition that he would be made Commander-in-chief of the Mogul and Mahratta forces to be sent against the two once powerful kingdoms in the Deccan. Of his success here in this expedition, Shivaji was as

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sure as ever, The subjection of these Southern kingdoms apparently in the interest of the Empire but really promoting the cause of the Mahratta Swarajya, Shivaji thought, would swell the prestige of his name and fame and would facilitate the work of weaning away Rajput kings and princes from the Mogul cause and thus converting them into soldiers fighting for their own nation. Rajputs and Mahrattas combined would easily, he thought, as is now published in his letter to Jaising, break down and shatter the invincible Mogul Empire. National emancipation was Shivaji's objective. A grand and noble ideal indeed!

Well, peace-conditions were settled and Jaising became to all intents and purposes Shivaji's man. Shivaji then went to Agra as settled. But the intriguing and insolent stupidity of the untrusting and untrustworthy Aurangzeb gave a new turn to and facilitated the course of wonderful events treated here, which eventually brought on the demolition of the three centuries old Mogul Empire. Shivaji's ideal, of which he himself laid the foundation, was realised not by him but by Madhao Rao I and by Mahadji Rao Shinde. It was alas! too late then. The East India Company had become very strong and in the

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long run ousted the Mahrattas the only competing nation, from their dominating position in India. But this is another story.

8. I may add that the momentous event of "Deliverance" full of bristling romantic acts and facts has been exhaustively treated by Baba Saheb. Every available information has been collected. All these facts rotate round the pivot of deliverance and illustrate and illumine the basic political principles on which Shivaji the superman acted. The wonderful career of Shivaji trenched at various points upon the commercial and political interests of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French, and the English, and careful perusal of the interested and interesting observations made by these foreigners (vide notes and comments appended), is sure to prominently bring out, of course, after necessary correctives, the real character of our epoch-making superman.

I hope and trust that this story would rekindle the flame of an all comprehensive, sturdy and optimistic patriotism among us and enable us to live a higher, and nobler life. Baba Saheb has been endowed with two excellent gifts. He wields a powerful pen. He also commands a powerful tongue. The story

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he narrates here unmistakably proves his full command over both matter and manner. His constructive imagination unerringly sees through the internal motives of the great persons of whom he writes. Also his public speeches on the History of the Mahrattas are marvellously educative, attractive, impressive and inspiring. He carries away the whole audience, young and old, with him by the torrent of words loaded with facts and figures. Our Maharashtra ought to thank its stars for having secured the loyal seavices of such an earnest public worker of striking abilities. At an age when man thinks of rest which in Maharashtra at present means doing nothing, Baba Saheb works night and day, a year in and a year out with the energy of an emotional young man but with a sober head over his shoulders. All honour to him! His masculine patriotism his noble fervour, and his firm and undying faith in the ultimate uplift of the Mahrattas and through them of India, easily capture the minds of all those, that fortunately come into his close contact.

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"Be up and doing" is his inspiring message to young India.

Rao Saheb Deshpande wants no introduction in Maharashtra at least. But he in his own goodness asked me to write a 'Fore-Word' and I have scribbled these lines. I now raise up the curtain, and here you see Shivaji Maharaj at Rajgad, finding out ways and means to proceed to Agra, the Lion's Den in Hindusthan.

C. G. BHANU.

*Poona,*
Shravan Vadya 8th
Gokul Ashtami, Shak 1851.
28th of August 1929.

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# INTRODUCTION.

Our Bhârata Itihâsa Sanshodhaka Mandala has two kinds of publications—(1) "Sweeya" or "Our Own" series and (2) "Puraskrita" or "Extra" series. The first includes books specially undertaken by the Mandala itself and generally comprises all books and works such as old Mss. and research notes and essays together with original "documents" of all sorts with the necessary critical apparatus. The second series has been recently started to include publications which also contain historical materials and observations, but the Mandala incurs no financial liabilities in their behalf and hence these books are not given to members and subscribers of the Mandala by way of return. Naturally the authors and publishers of books in this second series enjoy a greater latitude, both with regard to the choice of their subjects, as well as the presentation of their materials and observations.

The Mandala exercises in the case of the latter class of books, only general editorial control and does not bind the writer or publisher by any rigid regulations. The object obviously is to encourage and foster a desire to work and learn to make sacrifices in the cause of research. This series has provided a good outlet for the energy

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and enthusiasm of many workers in the field of Mahratha History and Literature. The very fact that during the period of only a few years since its inception, about a dozen scholars and workers have availed themselves of this new outlet and published more than a dozen books, some of which have been very highly spoken of and very well received by the public, proves that the series meets *a real want*.

We are very glad to include in this series the present volume by Rao Saheb G. K. Deshpande. This volume has been written by Mr. Deshpande in English with a view to acquaint a wider public with his views on a subject at once most romantic, most thrilling and most inspiring. Mr. Deshpande has been a silent, yet a very assiduous student of the history of his own land and people for over thirty years. Those who know him well, need not be told of his untiring energy and love of work. It was one of his most cherished ambitions in life to present the inspiring story of the life of Shri Shivaji Maharâj in English. He was slowly preparing himself for this great task.

The present volume is an attempt to describe the wonderful escape of the great Mahratha hero from the clutches of the most powerful and astute Emperor of Delhi—Aurangzeb. This exploit must at once have raised Shivaji very high in the estimation of his contemporaries, Indian and European, and no

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wonder, therefore, that some of them should readily have called him an Alexander, a Julius Cæsar or a Hannibal.

The selection of this remarkable incident does great credit to Mr. Deshpande. As he himself frankly gives out in his introductory remarks, his real object was to prepare the ground for a Sir Walter Scott of Mahratha history, if not to be a Scott himself. Yet he does not wander far away into the realm of imagination, but endeavours to rear up his structure on the bed-rock of facts. He has, therefore, laboured incessantly all these years, toiling to piece together all available information from all quarters about the incident selected by him for presentation. His notes will show, even at a cursory glance, the extent of his travels into the field of his inquiry. Such a labour of love, the Mandala naturally thought, deserved all possible encouragement.

Hence it was, that the Mandala most readily fell in with Mr. Deshpande's offer to include his present volume in the Puraskrit or Extra series. Mr. Deshpande, who is himself a member of our Mandala, has also had the benefit of consultations with the scholars in the Mandala along with others interested in this field, and he has aimed at leaving nothing to be desired and making his book as complete and thorough as possible.

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It would not be, however, out of place here, to sound a note of caution. A really critical life of Shivaji the Great is yet to be written. What has been up till now presented to the world as his life is neither exhaustive, nor thoroughly critical. Fresh materials are accumulating every moment, fresh points are presented every now and then, fresh avenues of search opened up almost everywhere. We have yet hardly perhaps touched the fringe. This is, therefore, the time for us to search, collect and analyse more material first, before we hope to write a thoroughly critical and complete biography of the great hero. It is necessary, at the same time, to bear in mind that all cannot have this patience of scholars and a general desire is keenly expressed to have a readable yet reliable story of Shivaji Maharâj as early as possible. Such people will welcome with avidity all such attempts as the present volume of Mr. Deshpande. We would therefore earnestly request the readers of this volume to be as critical as possible yet equally sympathetic, so that Mr. Deshpande will be spurred on to undertake fresh journeys into the same enticing field with renewed vigour.

DATTO WAMAN POTDAR.
Hon. Secretary,
B. I. S. Mandala.
Poona City.

Gokul Ashtami,
28th of August 1929.
*Poona,*
B. I. S. Mandala.

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Rao Saheb G. K. alias
BABA SAHEB DESHPANDE.

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# PREFACE

Gentle reader, I crave your indulgence to read this book. I don't claim any originality of thought nor do I claim any scholarly attainments. As an humble student of the history of the Maratha people, I have made this attempt to write, with what success I leave it to you to judge. I have tried to collect and collate as much information, piece by piece as I could, and have ventured to place it before you. I was tempted to read more and write on this subject after reading James Douglas's "Bombay and Western India." The passage which inspired me to work on this chapter of Maratha History runs thus:— "Shivaji's appearance at the Court of Delhi (Agra) in the year 1666, was a wonderful phenomenon. It occurred only once and was never to do so again. Where are our poets, painters and romancists that they cannot revive for us the elements of this story and body forth the spirit of the time, a story in which the deepest pathos, the wildest ambition, tragedies known and unknown, love strong as death and hatred cruel as the grave, are all lying together in one mighty heap

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ready for the great magician? If Scott had been in India, he would have soon worked up the subject with all his boast of heraldry and pomp of power into glowing colours, for, the period, the place, and the persons, engaged in this transaction, render it one of the most attractive in the history of India." If the writer of this inspiring paragraph were alive to-day, and had had an opportunity to read this book, I am afraid he would have been sorely disappointed. Any how an attempt has been made to draw the attention of a budding Scott in India, a budding Ravi Varma, a budding Haribhao Apte, to handle this subject and to materialise the pious hopes of James Douglas!

2. Shivaji—the great Shivaji—is every thing to the Maratha people. As the sun is to the world, so is Shivaji to Maharashtra and to India as well. He was born just in time to save his people and his country from utter rack and ruin. Needless to say, how naturally he has been enthroned in the hearts of a loving and grateful people. It is no crime to love one's own mother or one's own country as also one who liberated his own people from bondage. The liberator of his own people in any country, is an object of great veneration

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and love. All independent people do adore and venerate the memory of such a liberator. So, any important event in the life of such a liberator, is an object of great interest to a student of history and James Douglas, a Scotsman to the core, was perfectly right in admiring Shivaji and giving expression to his thoughts in the way he did in the paragraph quoted above. We here in India, do revere the memory of Robert Bruce and Sir William Wallace, as also the memory of those great souls, who in England and elsewhere, fought against foreign aggressions. We unhesitatingly give every great soul in every country, his due, because we have been taught in the sacred Bhagvat-Geeta, that every great soul is a nearer approach to the Great Divinity. A man that passionately loves his own mother, and who thereby understands the real sentiment of love, will be the last man to speak ill of any body's mother. So also with patriots. It is therefore not unnatural on the part of the Maratha people or Indians in general, to revere the memory of Shivaji, the hero and liberator of Maharashtra.

3. Richard I. the Lion-hearted king of England (1189-1199) met a similar fate, viz., capture and incarceration in a foreign land

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while returning from the Wars of the Crusade in the Holy Land. He had a romantic life and his still more romantic escape was the talk of all Europe in those days. Who would not like to hear with interest the thrilling story of his escape even in our own times?

A similiar story from the north of Europe, viz.,—Sweden, that of Charles XII (1697-1718) is also most interesting. He fights with the Russians and is defeated in the battle of Pultowa in 1709. He escapes to Bender where after three years' protection, he is made a prisoner by the Turks in 1713. His escape from Constantinople is as romantic and has the same thrilling effect as that of Richard I, or Shivaji the Great.

But to us in India the escape of Shivaji the Great from Agra, is greater in importance and consequence than the escape of the 2 above-named Sovereigns of 2 different countries in Europe. They were kings of independent countries. They had their own Governments and their own people, born and bred up in independence, would have turned Heaven and Earth to back them up and liberate them. Such was not the case in India at the time of the incarceration of Shivaji by Aurangzeb, at Agra, in 1666 A. D. The Hindus in general

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were an enslaved people. The Rajput Princes were Feudatories of the Great Mogul. They were dependant on the Sovereign at Delhi and had lost much of their spirit of independence and were content to dance attendance on that Sovereign. And even though some spirit of independence may be lurking in them they had not the courage to exhibit it collectively. A noble soul, a spirited Rajput, some times rebelled and revolted against the slights offered to him, his religion and his race and paid it with his life and for a time stirred the hearts of his countrymen; but all was quiet again. No permanent impression could be made on a people who had resigned themselves to their fate and had submitted to the foreign yoke in utter despondency and helplessness with the patience and equanimity of philosophers.

4. Shivaji had felt the pulse of his people. He had diagnosed the disease of his people and country rightly. It was not a very serious case. There was danger, yet there was hope. He had been advised to resign himself like others and to await philosophically the result, viz., the dissolution of his own people. He was not the man to be guided by others. He had his own ideas and convictions. He was born

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to guide and help. He had a clear vision. He saw that if he were to take the lead and accomplish what was deemed impossible in those days, he might still gather round him a band of men who would work miracles. He took the initiative, he worked hard and incessantly to convince some of his people that he had a sacred mission to perform and that mission was the liberation of the 'ailing patient,' viz., his people and his country. His personal magnetism attracted the right sort of people. The long 'ailing patient,' received timely help. Apathy disappeared gradually and sympathetic people surrounded the 'ailing patient,' inspired with hope. An atmosphere of confidence was created after a long spell of indifference, irresolution and diffidence. The patient rallied, yet Shivaji toiled on till the complete restoration of the patient's health. There were times when the patient showed symptoms of partial or utter collapse and yet Shivaji ever optimistic and full of hope toiled on patiently to achieve his object. The proverb "Heaven helps those who help themselves," proved literally true in his case. He was always full of confidence though he was surrounded by people who were always diffident of themselves. He had not only to keep himself free

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from the contamination of such people but, he had to bring them round to his views, not an ordinary task indeed. Herein lay the greatness of the man. He had to perform a marvellous feat and he did it and hence his greatness.

5. Having welded together a band of hopeful people who came round to his views after great personal exertions, he left the beaten path and entered on a career at once hazardous and dangerous. Owen and Kincaid give him most unstinted praise for the turn he gave to his people and for having accomplished his object, atonce deemed absurd, irrational and impossible. While he was engaged in the noble cause of the emancipation of his people he had to suffer all sorts of indignities at the hands of some of his own people and others. He was called a bandit-chief, a robber, a hell-dog, an infidel and what not and his life was always in danger; orders having been issued by Bijapur and Delhi to extirpate his followers whereever they were met. Says Owen:-"Shivaji and his people even in their warfare, were by no means mere bandits. A halo of heroism, patriotism, and religious zeal invested their proceedings and induced them to regard the son of Shahaji as

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a predestined, divinely favoured, indeed, as an inspired deliverer". Say Kincaid and Parasnis:-"But great organizer and military genius that Shivaji was, it is in far seeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success. He won victory after victory against Bijapur and the Moguls yet his head was never turned. He realised always that he had yet to meet the full power of the Mogul Empire. His one aim was to secure freedom of his country-men". Says Dr. Sen:—"But the causes of Shivaj's military success are not far to seek. Superior discipline, superior leadership and the unquestioning confidence of his men account for the brilliant victories which the great Maratha obtained over the Moguls, the Portuguese, the Bijapuris, and the Haidrabadis, not to mention the petty poligars who acknowledged his suzerainty. The ideal, Shivaji set forward before his people was a Hindvi Swrajya (Hindu Empire), a Maharashtra Padshahi (Maratha kingdom), but above all a Dharma Rajya, a kingdom of righteousness."

6. It was therefore natural on the part of Bijapur and Delhi to make every possible attempt to crush Shivaji. If the subjugated

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people had been properly treated and their contenment secured by a wise policy like that of Akbar and Ibrahim Adilshah, no attempt to seduce a loyal people would ever have succeeded even though a towering personality like Shivaji had taken the lead. But the people were already tired of the foreign yoke and they were waiting for an opportunity to revolt. The question was as to who should lead them. They found such a leader in Shivaji and the prophecy mentioned by Wilks as current in the south, was thus proved literally true. Every defeat of a regular army of Bijapur or Delhi, under the leadership of Shivaji or any of his best generals, gave new impetus to his men and gradually they gained in strength and confidence in themselves. Success made them bold and when they knew that the Imperial or Bijapur troops were certainly not invincible as they had been made to believe, they attacked them in force and with a determination never to be shaken. Once their prestige was rudely shaken, the Bijapur and Mogul troops became demoralised and disheartened. Afzul Khan and Shaista Khan paved the way for the final destruction and dissolution of their own kingdoms.

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It was after the night raid on the camp of Shaista Khan and his utter discomfiture and humiliation at Poona at the hands of Shivaji, that Aurangzeb was seriously alarmed and he thought of going to the Deccan himself and once for all remove this thorn which was giving him so much trouble.

He however seems to have changed his mind, "possibly he had been afraid of Sivaji, afraid that he would circumvent him or asassinate him," (page 16. A History of the English settlements in India by J. Talboys Wheeler) and thought of sending to the Deccan Mirza Raja Jaising the greatest Hindu general in the Empire. He was in every way fitted for such a duty. He was asked to entrap Shivaji through his deplomacy and to send him to Agra.

The task was not an ordinary one. The Maratha Chronicles graphically describe his state of mind and his continued and strenuous efforts to achieve success in this direction. Shivaji seems to have appealed to him earnestly as a Hindu to desist from being the agent of a man who professedly was the enemy of the Hindu religion. Whatever it may be, it looks as if Jaising wanted to kill two birds with one stone. He succeeded

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after strenuous efforts to induce Shivaji to go to Agra to have a personal interview with the Emperor. Herein he carried out the behests of his master. But he was very particular about the safety of the person of Shivaji. He had warned his son Ramsing to take every possible care of him and to see that no harm came to him. It is said that Jaising buoyed Shivaji with hopes, viz., that he was likely to be appointed Viceroy of the Deccan with a view to crush the two Mahomedan States which were an eyesore to Aurangzeb.

7. I don't for a minute believe that Shivaji was so much frightened by Jaising that he was forced to submit to his superior generalship. If the Maratha Chronicles are critically read it will be clear that Jaising had not very high hopes of conquering Shivaji's country and especially his forts after the strong resistence he met with at Purandhar. He was not prepared to sit before every mountain-fort for months together and thus waste his time, his men and money.

Shivaji's idea in going to Agra seems to be :—

1. To impress the Emperor and to obtain from him as a reward for his late services the Viceroyalty of the Deccan.

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2. To crush the two Mahomedan States in the Deccan ostensibly for the Emperor but really for the benefit of his own people.

3. If he could get his object served, then to strengthen his position and to offer a bold front to Aurangzeb.

4. While at Agra to get himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of things there and if possible to cultivate close friendship with all the Rajput Princes in attendance at the court.

5. To impress on these Princes the necessity of hearty co-operation with him with a view to subvert eventually the Mahomedan power in India,

Tod has been very particular in mentioning that if the Raj Rana of Mewar, Jaising of Amber and Jaswantsing of Jodhpur had joined hands with Shivaji, the Mogul Power would have been shattered even though Aurangzeb—one of the greatest of Mogul Monarchs—was then on the Mogul throne.

8. I have tried to place every possible information that I could collect in this connection before you, my kind readers. I invite you to read the notes and the text carefully with a view to come to the right conclusion.

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The events at Agra having taken a different turn, Shivaji had to change his tactics and even though in a position of great danger, he so arranged matters that he out-witted his great opponent in a way the latter never forgot. In this could be clearly seen his sagacity and farsightedness, though he was on the point of losing his precious life.

9. The Marathas of Maharashtra will ever remain grateful to H. R. H. the Prince of Wales for laying down the foundation of the Shivaji Memorial in Poona and thus paying a tribute to the hallowed memory of the Liberator of Maharashtra. Had it not been for the lead taken in this connection by their Highnesses the late Shahu Chhatrapati Maharaj of Kolhapur and Madhao Rao Maharaj Shinde of Gwalior and H. H. Rajaram Maharaj Chhatrapati, the present Ruler of Kolhapur, the memorial in the form of the excellent statue of the Great Shivaji would not have been a success. All honour to them! Times have changed and the mist of ignorance having disappeared from before the eyes of callous persons, Shivaji's life promises to be read with great interest in future.

10. I have to acknowledge with a deep sense of gratitude the help that I have

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received at the hands of Mr. K. R. Kanitkar M. A. B. Sc., Principal of the Fergusson College and Mr. S. G. Vaze, B. A., of the Servant of India Society for giving me permission to make use of the books from their valuable libraries and thus enabling me to write this book on a most important event in the life of Shivaji the Great.

I am also much indebted to—

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I don't know how to express my sense of deep gratitude to my old and venerable Guru, Mr. C. G. Bhanu, B.A., late Professor of History in the Fergusson College who in his usual kindness acceded to my request to write a foreword to this book. May God in His mercy spare him for a long time for us and give him strength enough to give us the benefit of his deep studies and experience.

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I have to apologise most sincerely to all living authors of the books I have so often consulted and earnestly hope that they will forgive me for drawing freely from their valuable books, without their permission.

I cannot sufficiently express my sense of gratitude to Shrimant Bala Saheb Pant Pratinindhi, B.A., Chief of Aundh, who has been good enough to give me every encouragement in writing this book and actually helping me with a block of the Peacock throne of the Great Mogul.

Mr. A. S. Gokhale, of the Vijaya Press, needless to say, deserves my sincerest thanks for the promptness with which he undertook to print this book and to see it through the press as quickly as possible.

I must thank Mr. N. C. Kelkar, B. A., LL. B., for allowing me to reproduce my articles on 'Shivaji's escape from Agra,' published in the 'Mahratta.'

I have also to thank the Secretary of the Bharata Itihas Sanshodhak Mandala for the honour he has done me by kindly accepting this book as No. 18 of the Extra series of the B.I.S.M. and for writing a note in recognition of the same.

G. K. DESHPANDE.

DAS-VISHRAMDHAM, Poona No. 4.
Shravan Sudha 15 Shak 1851.
20th of August 1929.

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**Shivaji the Great, the Liberator of Maharashtra**

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Lakshmi Art, Bombay, 8.

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# THE DELIVERANCE

OR

# THE ESCAPE OF SHIVAJI THE GREAT FROM AGRA

"With thee each rock, each head-land brow
of lofty mountains rang;
While rivers in their sea-ward flow
And topping cliffs with waves below
And creeks, thy praises sang."

*Hymn to Shivaji*

1. "The great pillar of a Government, is the keeping of information about everything that happens in the kingdom, while a negligence of a minute results in shame for long years. See, the flight of the wretch Shiva, was due to carelessness, but it has involved me in all these distracting campaigns to the end of my days." Thus wrote Aurangzeb, the last great Emperor of Hindusthan, in his last will and testament, when he found how impossible it had been for him, with all the resources of the then greatest empire at his command,

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either to conquer the Deccan[1] or to annihilate the 'cursed Marathas', from the year 1683 A. D. to the year 1707 A.D.—a period of 24 long and weary years.

2. "The sudden attacks by the same 'cursed Marathas', their brilliant successes, their assaults in dark nights, their seizure of the roads and difficult passes, and the setting fire to the jungles full of trees, had severely tried the nerves and the sustaining power of the imperial forces, and men and beasts had in consequence perished in great numbers."[2] "The pigmies" of Maharashtra[3] had measured their swords with the giants of the north and worsted them. For twenty-four long years[4] the Marathas had carried on "the glorious War of Independence", and they had aquitted themselves well and had proved that they were no mean disciples[5] and followers of one of the greatest or rather the greatest man of his times, Shivaji the 'Conqueror' of his enemies and the 'Liberator' of his country from the hands of the foreigners. He was an eye-sore, as was the redoubtable Rathod Durgadas, to Aurangzeb the Alamgir, one of the greatest among the Chagtai monarchs in India. Aurangzeb the 'Great Mogul' had to deal with and fight with

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Shivaji—the 'Great Maratha'. One had inherited an Empire, the other had to recover a lost Empire. One had sat on the throne of his ancestors snatched from the Hindus, the other had to recover, reinstate and reform the Empire so snatched from and lost by his own ancestors.[6] The eyes of the whole of Hindu India were, therefore rivetted, on Maharashtra and prayers had been offered to Heaven by all the persecuted and down-trodden Hindus to grant the 'Champion of the Hindu cause' all success in his holy mission[7].

3. The escape of Shivaji from Agra was one of the most important events, not only in the life of the 'Idol of Maharashtra', but in the history of Maharashtra and the Marathas yet unborn and the history of Hindu India on the whole. If Providence had willed it otherwise and the escape had not been so miraculously effected, this beloved 'Hero of Maharashtra' and the 'Champion of the Hindu cause', would certainly have shared the fate of the martyred Sikh Gurus of sacred memory and the fate of the unfortunate brothers and nephews of the Emperor in the dungeons of the fort of Gwalior or some other fort. What could the Marathas have done then without a Shivaji?[8] Who could have led them in battle against

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the Mogul hosts? Who could have followed in his foot-steps to recover what had been once their own, and which had been wrested from their fore-fathers by the Mussalmans who were foreigners in the country? How could it have been possible for his lieutenants to carry on that glorious "War of Maratha Independence", in the face of insuperable and unsurmountable difficulties and obstructions, for twenty-four long years after his tragic and premature disappearance from the dungeons of his prison house at Agra? It would have been impossible for any Maratha army thenceafter to march into the Mogul North, let alone the far off Attock. If the central force that guided the movements of the sole machinery of Maharashtra had tragically disappeared through the greater cunning and the so called political sagacity and foresight of one of the astutest[9] of the Mogul monarchs, the history of India would have been changed-changed, Heaven only knows how![10]

4. The so called abject 'Mountain Rat'[11] of Maharashtra the 'wretch' Shivaji, was no ordinary rat. The great 'Cat' of Delhi wanted to trap him at Agra, and had actually drawn him into the trap and was chuckling

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with glee over his already achieved success and thinking and devising plans as to how he was to treat him or to get rid of him, when lo! the 'Cat' was confounded to hear that the 'Rat' was out and out with safety too! The 'Mountain Rat' of Maharashtra had given the slip and outwitted the wily and treacherous 'Cat', and the discomfitted 'Cat' never forgot the incident to the end of his days. He did fret and chafe and fret and chafe he did, but invain. The 'Rat' had gnawed the net all right and had after his miraculous escape so inspired his brother rats[12] in the mountains[13] of Maharashtra, that at the time Nature claimed the 'Great Rat'[14] as her own, he had confidence enough, that the 'Mountain Rats' of his country, had been so well trained[15] and organised and that they had done their work so well under his personal guidance that it was only a question of time to see the mighty edifice of the Mogul Empire fall–fall to rise no more.[16]

5. In the eyes of Maharashtra, the miraculous escape of Shivaji from Agra on Friday 17th August 1666, (Shràvan Vadya 12–the 12th day of the dark half of Shràvan Shak 1588) was, therefore, psychologically, one of the most or rather the most important event

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in the life of the great hero as also in the history of the Maratha people. It was justly regarded as a 'Day of Deliverance' then, and every man who takes pride to call himself a Maratha should now take part in celebrating that day as the day of the 'Great Deliverance' in the annals of the history of Maharashtra. The event has the same importance as that of the birth of Lord Shri Krishna in the dungeon of his parents' prison house at Mathura, and his miraculous escape from the place so closely guarded by the myrmidons of the wicked Kansa, king of Mathura, on the night of Shràvan Vadya 8. The escape of Shivaji from his place of confinement equally guarded with a strong body of troops by the Kotwal of Agra, Phuladkhan, on the night of Shràvan Vadya 12 from Agra to Mathura has, therefore, the same importance to the Hindus in India, as that of Lord Shri Krishna from Mathura to Gokul. Both did play the same part, viz. (परित्राणाय साधूनाम् विनाशायच दुष्कृताम्) protection of the good and destruction of the wicked, both did by their inimitable actions immortalise their names in the history of their country, and both have installed themselves in the hearts of their co-religionists in the country so firmly that no mortal man can ever succeed to oust them

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from there. As the event is thus, of so soul-, absorbing an interest to the Marathas of Maharashtra and, as the day falls on the 12th of Shràvan Vadya, it would certainly redound to the credit of the Maratha people if they can celebrate that day in future to keep alive the memory of their National Hero in addition to other celebrations.

6. Let us, therefore, see how matters stood before efforts were made by Aurangzeb through his great Rajput lieutenant, Mirza Raja Jaising of Jaipur, to induce Shivaji to go to Agra and to pay his respects to the Lord of Delhi who according to the great poet Jagannath in Akbar's time, was (**दिल्लीश्वरोवा जगदीश्वरोवा**) the Lord of Delhi, next only to the Lord of the world.

Shivaji had not loomed large[17] in the eyes of Aurangzeb till the dethronement by the latter of his father Shaha Jehan and his own coronation at Delhi on Friday, 23rd July, 1658 A. D. (Shràvan Suddha 3 Shak 1580, 1st Zilkad, 1068 Hijri), [Hindi translation of Ma-a-sir Alamgiri, p. 34,] by Devi Prasad.

It was after Abdullakhan better known as Afzulkhan[18] the famous general of Bijapur, had been despatched by Shivaji in self-

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defence at the foot of Pratapgad on Thursday, 10th of November, 1659 Margashirsha Suddha 7 Shak 1581, the that the Mahomedan kings of Bijapur and Golconda in the Deccan were struck with consternation and that very serious attempts were made to check his activities in the Deccan. Aurangzeb, who was bent upon destroying Bijapur and Golconda, seems to have been pleased[19] with what Shivaji did viz. the complete defeat and rout of the Bijapur army after the death of Afzulkhan. Professor Jadunath Sarkar in his Life of Shivaji, has, justly described the event by saying thus: "To the Marathas the fight with Afzul, has always appeared as at once a war of national liberation and a crusade against the desecrator of temples. Their historians have seen no element of murder in the incident but always described it as a glorious example of the sagacity, courage and agility, with which their National Hero averted a treacherous plot against his life, made the treachery recoil on the plotter's head, and avenged the outraged shrines of their Gods." (p. 84).

Shivaji's escape from the fort of Panhala in the rainy season of the year 1660, A. D. on Friday, 13th July, (Ashadh Vadya 1 Shak 1582,

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Shaista Khan.

Aurangzeb.

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when it was closely invested[20] for months by the Bijapur General, Siddi Johar (Salabat Khan) was also an event of great importance to the Marathas, as it showed, how the great hero planned and executed his schemes with consummate skill and foresight, when to all appearance, he seemed completely cornered and caught into the trap. The escape was regarded as a most daring feat, in as much as Shivaji effected it through a belligerent force officered by a renowned general like Siddi Johar, ably assisted by Fazal Khan, the son of Afzul Khan, who had vowed to avenge the death of his father by capturing Shivaji alive or dead.

7. To put an end to the aggressive policy of Shivaji and on a requisition from Bijapur, Aurangzeb ordered the great grandee of his court, his own maternal uncle, the great Amir-Ul-Umrao Shaista Khan[21], to proceed to the Deccan. He was appointed Viceroy of the Deccan with orders to put down Shivaji. But before he could reach the Deccan, Shivaji had defeated and slain Afzul Khan, taken Panhala[22] and completely crushed another Bijapur army led by Rustam Jaman and Fazal Khan[23] near Kolhapur. Shivaji's army had invaded Bijapur territory to the very gates of Bijapur. Shaista Khan marched with



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a big army from Aurangabad in the month of January 1660, and commenced his operations in Shivaji's country. Shivaji gave him infinite trouble. "His men swarmed round the baggage of the Amir and falling suddenly upon it like the Cossacks in Russia, they carried off horses, camels, men and whatever they could secure until they became aware of the approach of the troops" (Khafi Khan—Elliott and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 261). They carried a sort of guerilla warfare till the Amir reached Poona[24] and made it his head-quarters for the rainy season.

It was from Poona that he marched to, invested and subsequently took the strong fort of Chakan[25] called Sangram Durg, on the 15th of August 1660, after a close seige of about two months. Here he came across a most stubborn resistance from Shivaji's trusted General Phirangoji Narsalay, who fought with indomitable courage an enemy armed with every destructive weapon then known to the Moguls. He had at last to surrender honourably to the enemy; and his Chief received him with open arms to mark his appreciation of the deed of valour, which even his enemy could not but admire. Shaista Khan had offered to appoint the gallant defender of the fort of Chakan or Sangram

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**Raja Jashvantsingh.**

Lakshmi Art, Bombay, 8.

Durg as a commander under him, but the faithful soldier had refused that honour and preferred to serve his own master as an humble soldier rather than as an honoured commander in the armies of Aurangzeb. Shaista Khan returned to Poona and continued his operations aginst the Marathas without any appreciable success till 1663.[26] Raja Jaswantsing of Jodhpur was also then encamped at Poona with him.[27] Shaista Khan had taken every possible precaution to ensure his own safety and the safety of his troops. Even then Shivaji effected his entry into Poona with a selected body of men from Sinhgad and entering the camp of Shaista Khan in the dead of night on Sunday, the 5th of April 1663, (6th of the month of Ramjan 1073, Chaitra Shuddha 8th, Shak 1585,) surprised his household with his men and created such a stir and tumult that the great Amir never forgot it till the end of his days. The great Khan, the uncle of the Emperor and a great general, had thus been caught napping and he had to pay very dearly for it with the loss of his brave son and good many other persons. He nearly escaped being killed, though he lost some of his fingers while in the attempt of jumping out of a window to save his life. Here history repeated

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itself. Shivaji exactly played the part of Hannibal,[28] the Carthagenian General, in trying to evade capture by beguiling the enemy in a different direction where he had posted his men with a number of oxen with torches tied to their horns. The blast of a trumpet had warned the men that he had escaped and they were to play their part in drawing the Khan's troops in their direction by lighting the torches attached to the horns of the oxen and making them run aimlessly all over the hills to the south of Poona instead of allowing them to pursue Shivaji, who was escaping to Sinhgad. This was done; and the troops did really march in pursuit of the seemingly flying enemy in the hills south of Poona, and thus Shivaji had ample time at his disposal to reach Sinhgad in safety. "Immediately after the night attack on Shaista Khan's camp, Shivaji returned to Sinhgad taking back with him all the men whom he had posted all along the route from Sinhgad to Poona. No action of Shivaji's is now talked of with greater exultation among the people of Maharashtra than this daring exploit. To complete the triumph of Shivaji, a large body of Mogul Horse went galloping towards Sinhgad the next morning (6-4-1663). They were permitted to approach close to

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the fort, which they did in great bravado, beating their kettle-drums and brandishing their swords, when the fort guns opened a terrific fire on them with the result that they had to retire in the greatest confusion. While they were in this state of confusion, Prataprao Gujar, second in command of Netaji Palkar, Shivaji's Master of Horse, fell upon them so unexpectedly that they were completely routed and had to leave the field in great disgrace. This was the first time the Mogul Horse was hotly pursued by the Maratha Horse. The Moguls had already been disheartened to a very great extent by the night attack on their camp and to add to their disgrace, their Cavalry was defeated and even pursued back to their camp by Shivaji's Horse." (Thevenot). This utter discomfiture of Shaista Khan enraged Aurangzeb to a high pitch and he removed him from the Viceroyalty of the Deccan and posted him to far off Bengal. The Khan left the Deccan in 1664 completely mortified and crestfallen. The Monarch did not listen to his earnest appeal to allow him to stay in the Deccan to retrieve his honour and lost reputation.

This daring deed on the part of Shivaji raised him still higher in the estimation of his own people, and the news of his victory

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over the Khan spread throughout the length and breadth of Hindusthan, thus adding to his glory and the utter humiliation and chagrin of the great Monarch of Delhi.

Soon after this daring deed viz. the night attack[29] on Shaista Khan's camp, Shivaji did yet another thing which redounded to his credit as a great guerrila commander who was not afraid of leading his men successfully into Mogul territory. Shivaji always took care to spread false reports of his intentions.[30] He assembled an army in the neighbourhood of Kalyan, sent another in the direction of Danda-Rajpoor in the Konkan and gave out that he wanted to attack the Portuguese territory near Bassein[31] and Choule; or else to make a grand effort to reduce the Siddi of Janjira, who was a great eyesore to him. While he was spreading all these false rumours, his real design was on Surat, Surat the great entre-pot of Indian commerce, and the port[32] from which the Muhammedan pilgrims left for Mecca. Surat in those days was one of the greatest and richest cities in India. Bahirji Naik, his 'Chief of Spies', had already been making enquiries at Surat for some time and making notes and observations preparatory to the grand attack by his master. On getting the necessary information, Shivaji at once left

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for Nasik on a pretence of paying his respects to the great temple there and of visiting the forts recently taken by the redoubtable Moropant Pingle. Thus, instead of opening his campaign in the South, he proceeded to the North with a body of four thousand Horse[33] rapidly covering the distance appeared before the walls of Surat on 6-1-1664.[34] He plundered the city for 6 days. The loot was great and it would have been far more considerable had the English and Dutch factories fallen into his power, but they stood on their defence and the English in particular behaved very manfully. They not only saved their own property but even that of some of the citizens, and for this they were highly commended by Aurangzeb, who exempted them from a portion of the customs which was exacted from them.

While Shivaji was busy looting Surat, a very dastardly attempt was made on his life by order of the Governor of Surat. The assassin was sent to Shivaji by the Governor with the object of negotiating with him. While he was talking with him, the assassin whipped out a dagger from under his clothes and rushed on Shivaji. The attack was so sudden that, had it not been for the vigilance of his Maratha Aid-de-Camp who

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was standing near him with a drawn sword, Shivaji would have fared very badly. The situation was very grave. Like a flash of lightening the blade of the mighty Maratha Body-guard descended on the arm of the assassin and his hand was severed from the trunk. The man rushed headlong on his object and the clothes of Shivaji were daubbed with the blood of the assassin. While he was trying to grapple Shivaji with his left hand, another blow from the same rescuing hand clove his head in two and the assassin rolled on the ground a mangled and ghastly corpse. There was joy everywhere on Shivaji's miraculous escape. The prompt action of the Body-guard had saved the life of the Idol of Maharashtra, and it was feared a general massacre of the prisoners would be ordered, but like the great man that he was, he did punish some but did not resort to any wholesale massacre.[35]

In August 1664, Shivaji's fleet succeeded in making considerable captures. Amongst others, they took some Mogul ships bound for Mecca and exacted heavy ransoms from all the rich pilgrims proceeding to the Shrine of their Prophet.[36] Shivaji plundered Ahmednagar in the Mogul territory and carried his depredations to the vicinity of Aurangabad

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the capital of the Mogul Deccan. The Bijapur troops stationed at Panhala made an attempt to recover the Konkan districts in the possession of Shivaji and did succeed in taking several places when Shivaji who, as the English records of the period observe, "seemed to be everywhere and prepared for every emergency", appeared in the field at the head of a large force, with which he gave them battle and defeated them with great slaughter. (The English factors at Carwar and Rajapur mention that 6000 of the Bijapur troops were killed). Vengurla, the inhabitants of which seemed to have risen on his garrison, Shivaji burnt to the ground and hastened back to Sinhgad to watch the movements of the Moguls from whom he apprehended an attack.

8. In 1664, despatches arrived from Prince Muazzim, the successor of Shaista Khan to the Viceroyalty in the Deccan, at the court of Delhi, that Shivaji was growing more and more daring[37] and that he was almost everyday attacking and plundering Imperial territories and caravans. He had seized the ports of Jiwal, Pabal and others near Surat and attacked the vessels of pilgrims bound for Mecca.[38] He had built several forts by the seashore and had entirely interrupted maritime intercourse. It was also reported that

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he had after the death of his father (23rd January, 1664) assumed the title of Raja and was also striking copper coins (Sika-i-pul) and gold 'Huns' in his name in the fort of Rajgad. Maharaja Jaswant had endeavoured to suppress him, but without avail. (Khafi Khan—Elliott and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 271). This clearly showed that he had assumed powers of royalty and Aurangzeb could no longer stand such a thing.

In the beginning of 1665, he devised a new enterprise. Preparatory to its execution he caused it to be believed as usual that he intended to surprise the Mogul Camp at Junner. Whilst this report was current, he secretly drew together 85 frigates and 3 great ships at his seagirt fort of Malwan, embarked in it and made a descent on the rich town of Barcelore about 130 miles below Goa. The authorities at Goa allowed him to pass, never once making an attempt to stop him. He sailed back as far as Gokurn with four thousand men, before it was fully ascertained that he had quitted his capital at Rajgad.[39] "The assumption of the title of Raja, the privilege of coining, the numerous aggressions committed or even the plunder of Surat did not call forth the resentment of Aurangzeb so forcibly as robbing the holy pilgrims proceed-

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ing to Mecca; and the religious zeal which he professed demanded an exertion of his power to punish the author of outrages as sacrilegious to his faith as insulting to his Empire" (Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Chap. VI, p. 171).

He then thought of sending to the Deccan Mirza Raja Jaising of Jaipur[40] the greatest Hindu general at his court and also DilerKhan (Dilawar Khan?) an equally good general, and gave Jaising orders[41] to march to the Deccan with a vast army and treasure with a view to chastise Shivaji, to overawe and. if possible, to reduce to submission the courts of Bijapur and Golconda. He purposely selected Jaising,[42] because he knew that he was not an ordinary soldier but a tried veteran in the art of war and a very sound diplomatist, who was accustomed to fight since his boyhood and who had earned the reputation of a great military commander. Besides, he was a Hindu, and it was deemed advisable to send him to the Deccan to chastise and, if possible, to win over another Hindu, who was growing stronger and stronger every day.

And now this veteran of a hundred fights and prince in political cunning, a master in the art of calculating policy, and a man of infinite

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tact and patience, donned his armour at the age of sixty[43] to annihilate and crush, if possible, a rebellious chieftain, who, within a short-time, had grown strong enough to resist the forces of Bijapur and to challenge even the mighty power and prestige of the great Emperor of the Moguls in India.

Jaising wanted to pit himself against a man who was also a born soldier and commander like himself.[44] He was also gifted with indomitable courage and consummate skill and foresight.[45] He was fired with patriotism and his sole object in life was to regain and recover the country which his forefathers had lost. He was not fired with a bad personal ambition,[46] but he had devoted all his energies to muster every strength with a view to get back and, if possible, to wrest back all that was once his and his people's own. He had anticipated the coming storm, and was prepared to shape his policy to meet it accordingly. Many a soldier of renown had gone down before him, and he had made it known by his prowess that the Deccan had been and would in future be the grave of many a reputation. The failures of many of his predecessors were looming large before the eyes of Jaising. Shivaji, the so-called "infidel, hell-dog and wretch Shivaji" of theM ogul, had already

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**Mirza Raja Jaysingh.**

Lakshmi Art, Bombay, 8.

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established his fame as a great strategist[47] and soldier and his intrepid Mawlis, the Maratha Highlanders,[48] his brother rats from the Sahyadri,[49] had the honour of measuring their swords with the flower of the Mogul army on many an occasion and with credit to themselves. They were no mean soldiers, they, the so-called roughclad and semi-barbarian looking Mawlis[50] from the Sahyadri, and as an English writer has justly said, they had measured their swords with the bravest Rajput swordsmen who were adepts in the handling of that weapon like the great Spartan swordsmen of old.

9. Jaising knew all this and he made every possible preparation to avert any calamity at the hands of his subtle foe. He, therefore, arranged to combine all the enemies of Shivaji against him with a view to distract his attention by attacks from all possible directions. In fact, he wanted to raise every possible difficulty with a view to stagger Shivaji and to force him into submission. Europeans, the Siddis, the Deccani Chieftains, the Muhamedan powers, in fact, everyone that bore a grudge against this great Maratha patriot had been approached.[51] Promises of advancement were held out to such as were prepared to help him in his mission to crush Shivaji. Even

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Shivaji's officers[52] had been approached with promises of high rank in the Mogul army and many an effort was made to tamper with their loyalty. Within a short time, therefore, Jaising created such a storm in the heart of Maharashtra that any other man but Shivaji would certainly have quailed before it and would have succumbed with the mere mention of such a formidable programme. The Maratha Kingdom in the making was rudely shaken before the onslaught of the mighty Kachhwah Prince of Jaipur. The mighty resources of the Empire under a renowned general like Jaising seemed to bear fruit.

10. Purandhar, one of the most impregnable forts in the Deccan, was invested by Diler Khan on 30-3-1665 under the immediate command of Jaising. It had been manned by a Mawli garrison commanded by one of Shivaji's greatest generals, Murar Baji Prabhu of Mahad. The capture of such a fort was not an easy task. It was, therefore, very closely invested. Diler Khan, the Mogul general, was a tried soldier. He was a veritable Hercules in strength. He was not an ordinary man. He personally commanded the siege operations. He was ably assisted by Mogul, Pathan, Afgan, Rajput and Bundela captains of renown. Assaults after assaults were led,

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which were equally repulsed by the gallant garrison. When the worthy Captain of a worthy master, the redoubtable Murar Baji Prabhu, led a sortie with a desperate band of about seven hundred Mawlis determined to kill or die, and advanced straight on to where Diler Khan was, the Mogul hosts staggered and were for a time taken aback. The gallant Murar Baji cleared his way through a galaxy of soldiers dealing mighty blows and, after slaying about 500 Pathans and other soldiers, made straight towards where his objective, viz. Diler Khan, was with only 60 Mawlis. The carnage was fearful. The Khan, like the brave and gallant man that he was, admired the courage, the almost superhuman courage and dash of the tried Maratha veteran, and offered to spare his life, if he but surrendered. He offered an honourable post to him under his own command. It was too much for the brave man, who led a forlorn hope for the sake of his master. "The Maratha dies but never surrenders,"[53] replied the hero of Purandhar and he courted death, noble death, death as a soldier on the field of honour. Diler Khan's high promises would not lure him from his own sense of duty. He preferred an honourable death to the shameful life of a deserter and a traitor. In all, three hundred Mawlis had fallen fighting with him. Their matchless

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bravery was admired by all. Murar Baji did eventually meet his death at the hands of Diler Khan and the remaining soldiers carried his gory body full of wounds into the fort retreating yet fighting.

11. When the gallant Murar Baji,[54] the commander of the fort of Purandhar was dead, Diler Khan naturally thought, the garrison would easily surrender. He asked the garrison to surrender, telling them that they could no longer hold out as their gallant commander was dead. The reply that the garrison gave was worthy of the gallant Mawlis of the great Shivaji. "Murar Baji is dead, long live Murar Baji! what? though one Murar Baji was dead there were yet so many Murar Bajis still living, and they were determined to fight—fight yet to the last man and with the same courage too". All honour to such heroes! Jaising was tightening his hold, and the surrounding country was one vast scene of devastation and desolation. The capture of Purandhar meant the capture of the families of so many Maratha soldiers and it meant death and dishonour. Shivaji thought it best to yield to necessity. He could not bear to see his best men die so fast. He could not bear to see the sight of his dear people wandering aimless from place to place driven at the point of the spear or the

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sword, like so many herds of cattle. He, the deliverer of his own people from bondage, could not bear to see them go into rack and ruin for his sake. His heart, great as it was, bled from pity at the sight of the misery of his own people. He therefore offered to negotiate peace. He sent a memorable letter to Jaising, which every Maratha should even now care to read. (Appendix A). He offered to help Jaising if the latter undertook to carry on a war with Bijapur with his formidable troops. In case Jaising refused his help, he threatened he would make common cause with Adil Shah and continue the war with unabated fury. Jaising of course did not like Shivaji to join hands with Bijapur and force him to face a formidable coalition.[55]

Jaising appreciated the Raja's (Shivaji's) character and power of conquest. "This king (Raja) is a very virtuous Hindu"[56], thought he, "He will restore the religion. He rules his kingdom with justice. *He should somehow be saved and at the same time the Badshah's interests should also be served by diplomacy.* If we fight aginst him, no one knows what will be the result, victory or defeat. His army and stores are good, he is himself a diplomat, his strongholds are excellent and everything else is to his advantage.



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*Moreover other generals had to retreat unsuccessful. It will be bad if the same thing happens to me. I should, therefore, manage to go with my honour in tact."*

Arguing in this manner he decided to seek the Maharaja's (Shivaji's) friendship and sent an envoy with the following message—"Auranzeb is the mighty ruler of the earth. You should make friendship with him. The ultimate result of hostility will not be good. I am a Hindu and Raja of Jayapur,—you are a Sisodia of the Udayapur family. You are a Scion of a great family, *and the defence of our faith is traditional in your family. Your efforts are directed to that end. I am, therefore, favourably disposed toward you. It is my earnest desire to save you and maintain your kingdom. Let me know what is your intention".*

Shivaji sent a reply through his envoy Raghunath Pandit to the effect that—"You say that I should make friendship with the Badshah and I know I should do so. But what territories and forts I possess, I have won by my own prowess. They were foreign territories (previous to my conquest). They should not be disturbed by the Badshah and peace should be maintained. *It is necessary to me that I should secure promotion and advancement by a personal interview. We have therefore no difference of opinion."*

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Jaising Raje answered—"*As you have restored and defended the overthrown Hindu religion, I am pleased with you.* As Ramsing is my son, so are you. By my oaths, I assert, I have no other intention. Let me know what you want me to get for you from the Badshah and we will decide our future course accordingly." When Shivaji's envoy returned with Jaising's message, Shivaji again sent him back with his message that—"What territories I have conquered should be all left to me. Besides them, the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi of the Deccan should be granted to me. What forts and strongholds I have built or captured should be continued in my possession, and friendship should be concluded." Jaising on receipt of this message was thereupon convinced that the Maharaja (Shivaji) wanted to conclude peace. Diler Khan however protested that no terms of peace should be settled without previously obtaining the imperial sanction. In the meantime, he proposed to make an exhibition of their power by capturing Purandhar and Sinhgad. As Jaising was not agreeable, Diler Khan tried to storm the fort of Purandhar without waiting for Jaising's co-operation, but he had to return unsuccessful. (Life of Shivaji by Chitnis, pp. 101 and 102, as translated by Dr. S. N. Sen, pp. 209, 210 and 211).

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The Mirza Raja (Jaising) thought, "*the Maharaja (Shivaji) has risen to re-establish the Hindu faith, and, if I offer him any hindrance, it will cause the disappearance of religion. This is not at all good; men, money, heart and luck are all in Shivaji's favour. So long as time (fate) is not against him, he will not be defeated. It is better that I should unite with him*[57] *and maintain Hinduism. If I try to injure him, well—he singly killed Abdul Khan and punished Shaista Khan and destroyed many armies,—and what weight have I? If each fort defends itself for one year, I cannot conquer the province. Therefore I should conclude a treaty, and winning him over by a peace, we should conduct our projects in unity*". When Diler Khan learnt this, he grew very angry—"All Hindus are one (at heart). *They have their eyes on the destruction of the Badshahi Empire.* But why should I care? I will myself singly punish him." So thought he, and made an assault on Purandhar fort. Murar Baji the commandant beat that assault back. The courage of the garrison surprised him and he realised the correctness of the Mirza Raja's decision. Success could be attained only in that way and not by fighting. (Shiva Digvijaya, 236, 237).

The Maharaja (Shivaji) issued orders for delivering the 27 (23?) forts according to the terms of the treaty (at Purandhar 12-6-1665), but demanded the possession of Janjira, and

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both Jaising and Diler Khan agreed to give it. But Siddi Sambal and Yakub Khan, when ordered to surrender the fort, replied that they would do so as soon as a Sanad from Delhi was produced, not otherwise. The Mirza became displeased in vain. Shivaji answered,–"You require sanction from Delhi. Therefore get the proper guarantee from that place and give up the fort. When I get Janjira, I will surrender the 27 forts including Trimbak and I am quite agreeable to the other terms of the treaty."

The object of Shivaji in going to the Imperial court at Agra was also to press this point. (Shiva Digvijaya, 244, Dr. S. N. Sen's translation, pp. 215-16).

Dilkash mentions–"In order to save the family-honour of his retainers Shivaji went with a few men near the Imperial army (at Narayanpeth at the foot of the Purandhar fort) and sent word to Jaising that he had come for an interview and that the Raja's (Jaising's) son Kiratsing should be sent to conduct him in safety. The Raja was puzzled by his coming which was quite unexpected. Kiratsing met Shivaji on the way and conducted him with all honour to the Raja in the afternoon. A host of people hearing of

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his coming, issued out to see the fun and gaze at him with their own eyes. Jaising advanced to the door of his tent embraced him and asked about his health. Shivaji said, "vast numbers are being slain in the war between us, and oppression done to both sides. It does not become me, the humblest of slaves(?), to defy the Emperor. I find that the prosperity and happiness of the families of my followers consist in submission to the Emperor. *I call myself the son of your great self, and have come to "my father" without any mediator or envoy,* and I beg pardon for my offences from the Emperor through your intercession. I promise to serve the Imperial cause in arduous tasks like the attacks on Kandahar and offer 24 of my forts as tribute. Lay your hand of paternal love on my head." Mirza Raja considering this rare good fortune, *they took the oaths of being father and son.* There was joy in the camp. The Raja sent a message to Diler Khan saying, "Shivaji has come and agreed to evacuate and give up the fort of Purandhar. Retire from the trenches." Diler Khan was displeased on hearing of this, which had happened without his being consulted, and replied, "I have undergone hard labour in the siege and sacrificed many men. The wall has been breached and assault decided

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upon. I have practically taken the fort by force and shall make peace only after capturing it." Next morning Mirza Raja sent Shivaji with Kiratsing to interview Diler Khan, who then withdrew from the siege and came to the Mirza with Shivaji. Jaising then listened to the proposals for peace offered by Shivaji. Finally, peace was concluded. The seige of Purandhar and stubborn resistance offered by the Marathas there form the subject of a very stirring ballad which is still sung with great animation by the minstrels in Maharashtra.

On the 12th of June 1665, (Ashad Shuddha 10, Shake 1587, Monday) was concluded the first treaty of Purandhar. By this treaty Shivaji agreed to surrender[58] a major portion of his forts and keep only 12 of them for himself on condition of service and loyalty to the Imperial throne. He, however, asked to be excused from personal attendance at court, but proposed that his son should represent him at the Darbar, with a contingent of 5000 horse, for regular attendance either at Delhi or at the court of the Viceroy of the Deccan.

12. Aurangzeb wanted to annex the two kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, and if

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Shivaji, who knew the Deccan so intimately, would be of any use to him in the execution of his plans, he was too glad to accept any proposals from Jaising to accelerate his cherished desire to be the undisputed and sole Emperor of Hindusthan from the Himalayas in the north to Cape Comorin in the south. Though Shivaji had given Aurangzeb no small cause for anxiety, the latter always regarded him as a negligible factor who could be crushed any time after his great object of reducing the two Mahomedan states in the Deccan had been accomplished through the very same negligible factor, as soon as Mirza Raja Jaising reported[59] to the Emperor the details of his plan of campaigning and his anticipated success with Shivaji and his efforts to gain him over to the Imperial cause with a view to his being used to reduce the two Mahomedan states, Aurangzeb promptly addressed a gracious Imperial Firman to Shivaji and assured him of his favour and protection. The Emperor had also to placate Shivaji at this time because he was afraid of an invasion by the Emperor of Persia, Shah Abas II,[60] and he could not therefore afford to have any serious trouble in the Deccan. He wanted Mirza Raja Jaising to face the Persian monarch in the north in case he

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crossed the Persian frontier, hence the necessity of a gracious Firman. This Firman was to be delivered to Shivaji after his submission to Jaising. Happily the Firman was received just after Shivaji's submission to Jaising at Purandhar and he was made the recepient of the same as also of a robe of honour that had been sent with it.

13. The submission of Shivaji soon after Jaising's opening of the campaign in the Deccan, was no doubt regarded as a signal victory, and with such a formidable opponent and fighter as an ally, the prospects of subjugating Bijapur seemed near at hand. Jaising naturally turned his attention to the conquest of Bijapur, and as Bijapur had not cared to assist [61] Shivaji when his dominions were threatened and invaded by Jaising, he deemed it proper to join Jaising in the campaign against Bijapur. Shivaji knew the country intimately and his valuable help with a strong body of men, used to warfare in the Deccan, was of no mean consequence. Netaji Palkar, Shivaji's Master of Horse, who was next to him in point of bravery and dash, was also with him in this campaign. Shivaji came to form a thick acquaintance with Ramsing the son of Jaising in the campaign. Ramsing had a sort of fascination for Shivaji which served

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to help the latter a great deal in his escape from Agra later on.

As complete success had not been attained owing to the combined efforts of the armies of Bijapur and Golconda to oppose the invaders and as the army under Jaising seemed to get annoyed at the resistance offered, Jaising thought it better to utilise the services of Shivaji in another theatre of war. Diler Khan, who never liked Jaising from his heart suspected him of great partiality towards Shivaji. He even hinted[62] to his being arrested and got rid of. Jaising did certainly not like the idea of incarceration of Shivaji, much less any injury to his person, and so he thought it best to send him to some other part. He was alarmed lest Shivaji on coming to know of Diler's designs may desert him and join hands with Bijapur, in that case his army was sure to be crushed between two formidable forces. This also prompted him to send him away.

14. He at this time wrote to the Emperor and told him that Shivaji had rendered very valuable services,[63] and hence it was quite imperative to win him over to their cause as both Adilshah and Qutbshah had joined their forces and were bent on mischief.[64]

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He proposed that Shivaji should kindly be invited to the court [65] to have his audience. The Emperor agreed to this, sent Shivaji a robe of honour and directed him to proceed to the court as soon as possible.

It was certainly no easy task to induce Shivaji to go to the court at Agra in the face of the fact that he had expressly stipulated at Purandhar that he would not attend the Mogul court to do homage or to dance attendance on the Emperor. He had consented to his son being called on to attend on the Emperor at Delhi or his Viceroy at Aurangabad. He[66] had never from his childhood cared to bow down before anybody except his parents, his gods and saints; Jaising, therefore, did his utmost by his persuasive[67] language to induce Shivaji to go to the court. He was also indirectly helped on in this mission by the ministers of Shivaji, who counselled him to go to the Court, and even by his Goddess, who was always consulted by him (Shivaji) at such critical times. His spiritual adviser, the great Ramdas, is also said to have induced him to undertake this mission, as the Goddess had already divined and vouchsafed that he would return scatheless.[68] All these seemed to have made a favourable impression on him,

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and he consented to undertake the journey to Agra to have an interview with the Emperor.

15. The question that is always uppermost in the mind of a student of the Maratha history is, as to why Shivaji should have hastened to offer his submission[69] to Jaising and accepted his terms so soon and why he should not have continued the war. If Bijapur had remained faithful to him and acted in unison with him to oppose the invasion of the Deccan by a common enemy, Shivaji would certainly have held out for a longer time and it would have been very difficult for the Mogul army to continue the war in the heart of the Deccan, though commanded by two such ablest generals as Jaising and Diler Khan. Bijapur[70] failed to assist Shivaji, and when the latter saw that it was not at all practicable to continue the war for a long time single-handed, and that too in the heart of his own dominions to the utter destruction of his own people, he thought it wise to submit with a view to gain breathing time to hatch his own plans. It was impossible to fight against a host of enemies, domestic as well as foreign, at one and the same time, though he had already done it once before and with success too, and there was thus no other alterative but to submit. He had not suffered any defeat himself since

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he took to war, but it was impossible for him to be present at every point in the theatre of war. It is also a matter of great mystery as to why he should have ever tried to venture, as it were, into the very jaws of death, knowing that Aurangzeb was never known to be a respector of his enemies, be they any - his father,[71] brother, nephews, friends or foes. He also knew that the Emperor could not be trusted with safety, as he was known to be a past-master in the art of dissimulation. Shivaji with his vast experience of human nature should have scented danger ahead, though promises of safety[72] had been vouchsafed to him by Jaising and the Emperor. His courage, his shrewdness[73] and keen sense of perception had often stood him in good stead whenever there was any danger. He had never known what fear was, and he had always put his shoulder to the wheel himself whenever and wherever it was thought necessary. He had always laid out his plans with consummate skill and he had never yet failed. He was as bold as a lion and as subtle as a tiger in the mountain haunts of Sahyadri.[74]

There may be stronger reasons and ulterior motives for him to have yielded to the persuasions of Jaising and others to go to

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Agra and it has been hinted that he himself proposed to Jaising that, in case he was appointed as a Viceroy of the Deccan, he would render very valuable help to the Emperor in the subjugation of the two Mahomedan States and thus clear the latter's way for obtaining suzerain power in the whole of India. It has also been mentioned that Jaising, like the shrewd man that he was, saw through the mind of Shivaji and hinted that it was likely, after his interview with the Emperor, that he stood the chance of getting the Viceroyalty[75] of the Deccan. He was also given to understand[76] that it had been very difficult for the Mogul armies to carry on hostile operations in a mountainous and rugged country[77] which they did not know and which they heartily disliked. The men and beasts were not accustomed to a warfare in the rugged hills, far, far away from their homes in the sunny north. Besides a perennial supply of money was required to be kept on to maintain the vast armies in the Deccan. With all these difficulties always before his mind's eye, it was most likely that the Emperor would be most willing to place in the hands of a man, known for his bravery and courage, the Government of a country which he knew so intimately and which would

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be rid of the two Mahomedan powers[78] which the Emperor so long cherished to root out. There was also a very great chance for Shivaji to get acquainted with the great Rajput nobles and Rajas while at Agra, and he would not lose such an opportunity to advance his schemes for the liberation of his country. He thus personally wanted to see things for himself and, as he had full faith in himself and his Gods, he determined to avail himself of the opportunity thus offered and, entrusting himself to his Gods, accepted the invitation of the Emperor to proceed to Agra.

We completely agree with the late Mr. Justice Ranade when he says.—"There must have been some deep laid scheme of policy which justified to him and his councillors the course he pursued." For if we were to read carefully the following lines from the memorable letter of Shivaji to Jaising fully quoted in the Appendix, no doubt would remain in our mind regarding the object Shivaji had in submitting so quickly to Jaising and accepting his proposal to go to Agra. The verses are.—

"11. If thou hadst come of thy own accord to conquer the Deccan, my eyes and my head could have been laid on earth for thee to tread upon.

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"12. I would have marched with my whole force at the stirrup of thy horse and would have yielded up to thee the country from one end to the other.

"13. But thou hast in fact come to conquer at the instance of Aurangzeb and under the instigation of those who desire to destroy the Hindus.

"29. Tigers attack the deer and other animals. They do not indulge in a fratricidal war with lions.

"30. If thy cutting sword has true water; if thy pranching horse has true spirit,

"31. Then do thou attack those who are the enemies of religion and abolish Islam root and branch.

"32. Had Dara Shekoh been king of the country, he would have treated his people with kindness and favour.

"41. I believe that thou hast attached thyself to him (Aurangzeb) and hast laid down for him the self respect of thy family.

"43. In order to attain his ends, he hesitates not to shed the blood of his brothers or take the life of his father.

"44. Or, if thou appealest to loyalty, remember thou also thy conduct in reference to Shah Jehan.

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"46. Do thou heat thy sword at the fire of distress of the land thou wast born in, and wipe off the tears of the unhappy ones who suffer from tyranny.

"47. This is not the time for fighting between ourselves since a grave danger faces the Hindus.

"48. Our children, our country, our wealth, our God, our temples and our holy worshippers,

"49. Are all in danger of existence owing to his (Aurangzeb's) machinations and the utmost limit of pain that can be borne, has been reached.

"50. If the work goes on like this for some time, there will not remain a vestige of ourselves on earth.

"51. It is a matter of supreme wonder that a handful of Mussalmans should establish supremacy over this vast country.

"52. This supremacy is not due to any valour on their part; see if thou hast eyes to see.

"56 I desire to make an effort and bring about stability and strive my utmost for the sake of the country.

"57. Polish thy sword and thy intellect and prove thyself a Turk to the Turks.



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"58. If thou joinest hands with Jaswant-sing and divestest thy heart of the layers of trickery.

"59. And if thou bringest about unity with the Rana (of Mewar) then indeed there is hope for great things.

"60. Do you all rush and fight from all sides? tramp down that serpent under the rock.

"61. So that he may for some time occupy himself with ruminating on the consequences of his own actions; and may not further entangle the Deccan in his meshes.

"62. And I may in the mean time with the aid of these and other lance-bearing heroes, make away with the other two Emperors (Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda);

"63. So that I may rain shower of swords from the thundering clouds of my army on the Mussalmans:

"64. So that from one end of the Deccan to the other, I may wash out the name and very vestige of Mahomadanism.

"65 & 66. Thereafter with the assistance of wise statesmen and the army, like the river swirling and foaming as it emerges from the mountains of the Deccan, I may come out in the plains:

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"67. And forthwith present myself for your service and hear you render your accounts:

"68. And we may inaugerate a grim war on all sides and devote the battlefield to it;

"69. And the tide of our army may submerge the crumbling walls of Delhi;

"70. So that nothing may be left of the Aurang or the Zeb; so that nothing may remain of the sword of his tyranny or the net of his policy;

"71. So that we may flow a river of pure blood and satisfy the souls of our ancestors;

"72. And with the grace of God the Just and Giver of Life, we shall entomb him below the bottom of the earth.

"73. If two hearts combine, they can burst a mountain; they can dispel and scattar the whole armies.

"75. I have much to tell thee in regard to this matter which cannot in sooth be put on paper.

"76. I am desirous of having a talk with thee, so that no unnecessary pain or labour may be involved.

"77. If such is thy desire, I shall come to thee and hear what thou hast to say.

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"81. Or we may find out some other way to attain our object and make our names in this world and the next.

"86. If I receive the desired reply from thee, I shall present myself before thee alone at night.

From the perusal of the above mentioned verses Shivaji's object in going to Agra will be quite apparent. Failing to achive this end in the near future, he apparently thought his object would be equally gained if Aurangzeb made him Viceroy of the Deccan, though temporarily, with the object of crushing the 2 Mahomedan powers in the Deccan. If he did succeed in overthrowing the two monarchies as he thought he would, if helped by Aurangzeb, he would naturally gain great strength and then think of gaining over the Rajputs to his side and thus united offer a bold front to Aurangzeb.

16. Jaising had already proposed to the Emperor to grant to Shivaji every facility on his northward march from the Deccan. He had completely assured Shivaji of his safety while at Agra, and also of his safe return to the Deccan. To convince him of his sincerity Jaising also proposed to send his son Ramsing with him. He told Shivaji that he would

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himself have accompanied him to Agra but that would not be to his interest. His staying in the Deccan till the latter's return would ensure his safety at Agra and he (Jaising) would then go to Agra to pay his respects to the Emperor.

Before he started for Agra, he ordered all his principal officers to meet him at Rajgad. He there invested his Peshwa Moro Trimbak Pingle, Abaji Sondeo and Annaji Datto his best officers with full authority during his absence and enjoined all persons to respect and obey their orders as if issued by himself. They were also to consult his mother Jijabai Saheba in important matters. He planned out a very clear course for the administration of his country in his absence. It is needless to go into details as to what particular instructions he laid down, but it must be said to the credit of the great man that he left nothing to be done, in case Fate decreed otherwise. He had full faith in his officers and knew perfectly well that they would carry out his orders to the very letter in his absence. Before he actually started for Agra, he made a tour in his own dominions with a view to test the fidelity[79] of his officers and he was thoroughly convinced and satisfied that no efforts on the part of his enemies

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would ever succeed in seducing any of them from their loyalty and devotion to him in his absence from his country.

He, therefore, left Rajgad for Agra on Monday, the 5th of March 1666. (i. e. 9th of the bright half of Falgun[80] Shak 1587.) When he arrived at Aurangabad, he was attended by a body[81] of five hundred noble horse, elegantly caparisoned and about the same number of select and well accoutred infantry. The always resourceful and redoubtable Tanaji Malusarey and Yesaji Kank, as also some of his best and bravest officers accompanied him. The whole city of Aurangabad turned out, out of curiosity to meet him. Safi Shikhan Khan an Ameer of three thousand and Deputy Governor of Aurangabad regarding Shivaji in the light of a Maratha Zamindar of no consequence, sat himself with the public officers in full assembly, thinking that Shivaji would pay him the first visit, and only sent his nephew to meet him outside the city and conduct him to his palace. But this conduct on the part of the Governor highly affronted Shivaji, who turned off directly to the Mirza Raja Jaising's palace, thus completely ignoring the Governor's existence. Upon being told that the Governor expected him in full assembly, he

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asked angrily, "Who is this Safi Shikhan Khan? What office does he hold here? and why has he not come to meet me?" Then having dismissed the nephew and train, he alighted at the palace. In the evening Safi Shikhan Khan and the public officers came in state to pay him an official visit and he received them very courteously [82] at the foot of the carpets and entered into very familar conversation with the Governor. The next day Shivaji returned the visit. The Governor and the other officers entertained him according to ability. He stayed at Aurangbad till he had received the bounty viz. one lakh of rupees for the expenses of his journey to Agra. Having received the sum from the Treasury he proceeded on his journey to Agra. All along his journey from Aurangabad to Agra, he was treated with great respect by all the Imperial officers to whom special orders had been issued by the Emperor.[83] He was to receive the same honour and homage paid to the princes of the Royal blood. He reached Agra on the 9th of May 1666.

Before him, Mir Jumla, the Prime minister of the Golconda state, who had deserted to the Moguls, had also been given a royal reception at every place he passed through, on his way from the Deccan to Delhi.

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17. Shah Jehan the dethroned monarch of Delhi, a state prisoner in the fort of Agra, had died on the 22nd of January, 1666, Monday 26 Rajab, 1076, Julus, (coronation year of Aurangzeb) 8th, and Aurangzeb was now firmly seated on the throne of his ancestors with his hands dyed red in the blood of his brothers and nephews and a host of others who had fought on their or his side in the War of Succession. His heart was completely at ease, now that the last thorn viz. his father was at eternal rest. He was celebrating his 50th Lunar birth-day (he was born at Dohad on Sunday the 15th Zilkad, 1027, 24-10-1618,) with great pomp and eclat. Besides, he had to impress Shivaji with all the grandeur of his court and the full display of his mighty power. He wanted to "reclaim permanently, if possible the formidable fillibuster, by condoning his offences and admitting him to favour, yet not without serious repugnance and misgivings and a resolution to keep a tight hand over him, to trust him as little as was compatible with professed friendliness and deal summarily with him on the first symptoms of relapse". (Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 65.)

Shivaji on his arrival at Agra on the 9th of May 1666, was met by Ramsing who had

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already gone ahead of him and some other insignificant noble, which upset him to a certain extent. He was lodged at a place near about Jaising's palace [84] between the fort and the Taj, which, for the time being was named "Shiopura" [85] after him, with a view to please him.

18. The 12th of May, 1666, was appointed as the day of the memorable audience. On this day two of the greatest and most remarkable men of their times in India, were to meet and face each other in one of the grandest Darbars, then known in the world. The Diwan-i-Am (Vide appendix B) i.e. the Hall of Public Audience in the fort of Agra was profusely decorated. All the great and small grandees of the court with their followers in full military panoply and glory, were present at their posts either inside the gold railing of the grand Hall of Audience or outside of it, i.e. inside the silver railing according to their rank and precedence. The Mogul power was then at its zenith and Aurangzeb was not wanting in displaying all his wealth and power to overawe one, who had defied him so often. The Emperor sat[86] on the Peacock Throne (Vide appendix C). of his father surrounded by the greatest and most trustworthy men. He had been warned of the magic and the so

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called wizardly power of Shivaji by Shaista Khan and others and he had therefore taken every possible precaution to protect himself[87] and had as well taken sufficient care not to give Shivaji any opportunity to display any of his feats while he was in his presence.

While Aurangzeb was thus sitting and awaiting in state the arrival of Shivaji, the Great Maratha "rat and rebel", the latter was ushered[88] into the great Hall by Ramsing—the son of Jaising. All eyes were automatically turned towards the man who had successfully dared to oppose the armies of the great Mogul. There was dead silence every where. Aurangzeb graciously ordered him to advance up to a certain point from the throne to do his homage. Shivaji is said to have presented a Nazar worth about 30,000 Rs. and saluted Aurangzeb thrice. This was the first time in his life that he had to bow down before a monarch holding a different faith from that of his own. He did it and was told to be conducted to the place assigned to him amongst some nobles of an inferior rank.

He was not prepared for such a treatment at court. He had been given to understand by Jaising at the opening of the negotiations at Purandhar, that he would be graciously

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received at court and would receive a high Munsub. And in subsequent private conferences, Jaising had gone much further and induced Shivaji to assume that he would be placed in a position favourable for the furtherance of his ulterior though carefully concealed purpose. But when Jaising reported the progress of the negotiations to the Emperor, he was less explicit; for, he did not venture to prescribe any specific mode of treatment for completing the cure of the 'convalescent political patient'. Shivaji at once, realised that he had been deliberately humiliated and insulted in the Hall of Audience. He was not the man to swallow such an insult and gave vent to his feelings in the Hall. He gnashed his teeth with rage and lost all consciousness. A stir was caused and the Emperor coming to know of it ordered Ramsing to remove him to his place.

The chief of the police, Phulad Khan was ordered to keep strict watch over Shivaji with a contingent of five thousand men.

Different authors give different accounts of the interview of Shivaji with Aurangzeb at Agra. We want to quote some of them for the information of our readers as we think they will be read with interest.

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"The grand rebell Cevagee is at last trapped and caught in the same nett of glorious promises that hee was wont to make for others, by this king (Aurangzeb), who is as perfidious as himself; working with him by order, made him large promises of great preferment, as the pay of 5 thousand horse, and his sonne 3 thousand; which after some further invitations, hee was enclyined to accept upon this king's promise (given in writing) to receive him into his favour, with free pardon and forgiveness of what was past. Which having obtained, the rebell supposed himself safe, tooke his journey to the court to make his obeisance and allegiance to the king; and had audience, but not all to his liking, being placed below certain noblemen whome hee accounted his inferiors, and notwithstanding hee was in the king's presence his stout heart could not bear it, but shewed his disgust by leaving the presence, retired into another room, greatly enraged; and although the king sent severale of his nobles, he not be perswaded to retourne or forbeare his upbraiding language, saying hee was none of their captive taken by conquest, but come up on articles; and from that time forward cannot be brought to come before the king

1. Factory Records Surat Presidency, 1666, p. 161:—

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any more. But the king, to secure him, hath dismist all those hee brought with him, placing servants of his own about him and a sufficient guard upon the house wherein he lives; otherwise giving him liberties. But it is concluded by all that hee will never be suffered to retourne again into his own country or be able to make any escape, there is so strict a watch upon him; that all account themselves safe, freed from any further fears of him."

2. Bernier (1656-1668) says :—

"Sevaji having consented to make a common cause with the Mogul against Visapour (Bijapur) Aurangzeb proclaimed him aRaja took him under his protection, and granted an Omrah's pension to his son. Some time afterwards, the king meditating a war against Persia wrote to Sevaji in such kind and flattering terms, and extolled his generosity, talents and conduct so highly, as to induce him to meet the Mogul at Delhi, (Agra) Jessingue (Jaising) having plighted his faith for the chieftain's security. Chahest Khan's wife, a relation of Aurangzeb happened to be then at court and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband and sacked Sourate (Surat). The result was that Sevaji observing that his tents were watched

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by three or four Omrahs, effected his escape in disguise under favour of night. This circumstance caused great uneasiness in the palace, and Jessingue's eldest son, being strongly suspected of having assisted Sevaji in his flight, was forbidden to appear at court. But when Aurangzeb showed kindness to Ramsing after his father's death by allowing the grant of pension enjoyed by his father, many persons thought that Sevagi did not escape without the connivance of Aurangzeb himself. His presence at court must indeed have embarrassed the king, since the hatred of the women was most fierce and rancorous against him; they considered him as monster who had imbued his hands in the blood of friends and kinsmen."

Dr. Fryer's account of these transactions agrees with Bernier's narrative in many particulars.

3. Thevenot (1667-1681) says:—

"In 1666, Aurangzeb urgently desired to be rid of Shivaji and to gain his ends, he pretended to approve of what Shivaji had done (sack of Surat) and praised his action as that of a gallant man, putting blame on the Governor of Surat, who had not had the courage to oppose him. He thus explained himself before

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the other Rajas of the court among whom he well knew that Shivaji had many friends; and he gave them to understand that, as he esteemed the value of this Raja (Shivaji) he wished him to come to the court and he said plainly that he would be glad if some one would make this known to Shivaji. He even asked one of them to write to him and he gave his royal word that no harm would be done to him, that he would come to the court in all security, that he the Emperor, would forget the past and that his troops would be so well treated that he would have no cause for complaint. Several Rajas wrote what the King said and went in person as security for his word; and thus he had no objection to coming to the court with his son after having commanded his troops to be always on their guard under a captain whom he left at the head of them.

Perceiving the coldness with which he was treated, he complained openly of it and told Aurangzeb without hesitation that he believed the King desired his (Shivaji's) death, though he had come to the court on the strength of the King's royal parole, without having been under any constraint or necessity to do so; but that His Majesty could learn

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from Shaista Khan and from the Governor of Surat, what manner of man he was, and that, *if he was to perish, there would be those who would avenge his death.* The King would have gladly killed him but he found that the Rajas would rise against him. They were already murmuring at the treatment whieh was being meted out to Shivaji, in spite of the assurance which had been given to him, and they all took all the more interest in him as most of them were only at court on the strength of the Kiug's parole. This consideration compelled Aurangzeb to treat him well and to make much of his son. He told Shivaji that he had never had any thought about his being put to death and he flattered him by promising him a good commission if he would go to Kandahar, which place he then wanted to besiege. Shivaji feigned consent to this, provided that, he might command his own troops. The King having granted him the request, he asked for a pass-port to have them fetched; and when he had obtained it, he decided to utilise it to withdraw from court. For this reason he gave orders to those to whom he entrusted the pass-port and whom he sent on in advance on the pretext of bringing his troops, to bring him horses to certain places which he indicated to them; this they did not fail to do."

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4. Father Pieree Joseph D'Orleans' History of Shivaji written in (1688.) He says:—

"Jaising who did not consider himself very sure, proposed to him (Shivaji) to make an advantagious compromise and believing also that he would render a double service to his master if after having established the reputation of his arms he could attach to him so brave a man, he assured Shivaji that if he wished to join the Mogul against another king of India, with whom he had war, he would obtain for him terms and also appointments with which he ought to remain satisfied. Shivaji who felt himself pressed hard and who met with nothing but courtship from a conquering enemy, in a very unfortunate situation of his life, accepted the side without difficulty and being thus supported by the greatest monarch of India, saw himself issuing from the precipice more terrible and more established than ever. To increase his reputation, it happened that the Mogul Emperor having declared war against the Sophi (Safavi, king of Persia) invited Shivaji to come and take a considerable post in his army and wrote to him in such an honourable and flattering manner that Shivaji could not resist it. He went there (Agra) with his troops and the king received him so well



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that he believed his fortune established, when by encounter with the people of whom he ought to have been the least mistrustful he saw his fortune on the slopes of its ruin. All the brave men saw Shivaji in the Indian army with friendly eyes; Aurangzeb also, who esteemed his valour, as far as one can judge, did not regard him with evil intentions. Only one person who could not bear him, put him in the necessity of escaping, after having put himself by his own hands in the danger of there losing his life. It was the wife of Shaista Khan who raised against him all the ladies of the court so much that by the force of their cries and importunities, they obtained from Aurangzeb with whom, in spite of his wisdom, the female sex was not without credit, (the order) that the murderer of a prince of the Mogul blood, should be arrested.

The noise was too great not to have reached the ears of a man so alert as Shivaji. Some say that he was informed by the son of that Jaising who had engaged him on the side of the Mogul. It was apparently on this occossion that Mr. Thevenot says, that Shivaji belived himself lost and complaining loudly to the king himself that he had violated his

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promised faith he (Shivaji) wished to perish by his own hands. They held back his arm, and the king pacified him and assured him that he had never formed any design to make him perish. The same author adds, nevertheless, that if the prince (Aurangzeb) had not feared the revolt of his nobles who loved Shivaji and who murmured very loudly against the bad treatment which was given to him, he would without difficulty have consented to the death of that unquiet spirit. As Shivaji in coming to court had been imprudent only by half, he had kept in reserve in his fortresses, resources in men and money capable of sustaining him; and as he was no more wanting in stratagem of war than in resolution, he knew so well how to profit by the times, that he disguised himself and escaped without being recognised. If it be true, nevertheless what Mr. Bernier says, that many men believe that the flight of Shivaji was in concert with Aurangzeb who had neither the strength to resist the cries of the ladies of his court nor the perfidy to destroy a man whom he had called there, it is not probable that Shivaji would so entirely forget the honesty of the Mogul Emperor. That which makes this sentiment appear like truth is, adds Mr. Bernier, that the son of

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Jaising having been accused by the public voice of the escape of Shivaji, the king did not punish him otherwise than by removipg him for some time from the court; as soon as his father was dead, the Mogul sent to pay him condolence. (Literally compliments and continue his allowances to him)."

5. Sabhasad (1697) says :—

"At an auspicious moment, Shivaji set out to see the Badshah. The Badshah assembled his Darbar, sat on the Royal throne, keeping 5 weapons with him, girding his waist and putting on a steel armour. Similarly he made great warriors of known valour to stand near the throne, and stationed 2 thousand men in its neighbourhood. Likewise all the Vaziers were assembled in readiness in the Hall of Public Audience. In his mind the Badshah argued 'Shivaji is not an ordinary man, he is the Devil. He killed Afzul Khan at a friendly interview. What should be done, if in a like manner, he jumps on the throne, and makes a treacherous attack on me?' So thinking, he sat prepared for every emergency. Then he called Shivaji for the interview. Ramsing conducted him and his son Sambhaji. Nazar was offered to the Badshah. The Badshah said, "Come Shivaji Raje!" As soon as he said so, the Raje

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offered three salutes. The Badshah ordered him to stand on the right side, near and below Jaswantsing Maharaj, the Raja of Navakot of Marwad. The Raje and his son stood accordingly. The Raje asked Ramsing "who is the neighbour in front of us?" Ramsing answered "Maharaj Jaswantsing." On hearing so the Raje got angry and said,—"an Umrao like Jaswantsing whose back my soldiers have seen! Why should I stand below him?" Ramsing consoled him to be patient. When these words were being exchanged, the Badshah became aware of the tumult. He asked, "what is the matter?" Ramsing replied, "the tiger is a wild animal of the forests, he feels hot. Something has happened." As he said so, fear grew in the Badshah's mind. There was no knowing what might happen. Therefore the Badshah said to Ramsing, "go back with the Raje to his quarters. To-morrow we will have an interview at leisure." The Raje then returned to his quarters. When the Raje was gone the Badshah felt relieved. "A great evil is over. I and Shivaji have seen each other."

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"On Shivaji's arrival Aurangzeb caused him to appear in his presence, and instead of giving him the promised position, which was to be the highest in his Audience Hall, he caused him to be assigned the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing. Shivaji was much hurt at this deed of Aurangzeb which did not confirm to the promises received and angry at being still alive, he said resolutely to Aurangzeb that the position allotted was not according to that promised to him on oath, nor to the arrangement made with Raja Jaising. "Let Aurangzeb remember" said he, "that the officers in his Majesty's presence except Namdarkhan, were the rest of them so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held". Then in anger he came out. Aurangzeb issued orders that he should be escorted to his tent, and, as sentries over him they should post round his tent three corps of guards. This was until the palace of Fida-e-Khan could be made ready for him.

6. Manucci (1649-1697) says :—

Aurangzeb chose Jaisinva, a powerful noble of his court, who had rendered him great service in the affairs that he had had at the commencement of his reign.

7. Abbey Carre (1699) says:—

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Jaising departed with orders to recover the places which Shivaji had conquered from the Mogul; he had other secret orders not to spare any thing to gain Shivaji over and induce him to take charge of a Mogul army. Shivaji marched right before Jaisinva to give him battle, Jaisinva declined it and knew how to conduct himself in such a way that it was difficult to force him. Jaisinva invested a strong fort; and his works being sufficiently advanced he formed the siege with great intelligence of war. The defence of the besieged was vigorous, and such that the general of the Mogul, despairing of reducing the place liked more to enter into negotiation with Shivaji than to make him obstinate longer. He proposed to him on the part of his master, great honours and considerable establishments, if he would be attached to his services. Shivaji, pricked the ear at these proposals and entered into an understanding which would put him at the head of the Mogul armies and would open so great a career to his valor. The Mogul wished to be served by Shivaji in the war which he prepared to make against the king of Persia. He then invited Shivaji to come to his court and in order to make the sojourn more agreeable to him, he made him Raja, which

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is the highest rank to which the king can raise those whom he wishes to honour. He also gave his son a post which distinguished him, and placed him far above the young lords of his age.

Shivaji appeared at the court of the Mogul with all the pomp and magnificence which corresponded to his rank and to his reputation; but he appeared there so well accustomed to the honours and with an air of nobility which caused him to be regarded as a man greater than his fortune. There was not much good treatment that he received from the Emperor; he was not regarded equally well by every body. Shaista Khan was absent from the court; but there was his wife and a great number of men who held to him either by pleasure or by interest; it was so many enemies that Shivaji had made on the day when he undertook to carry off Shaista Khan; the jealousy attached to a great man set up so many others and irritated them so furiously that they formed very faction for destroying him. The wife of Shaista Khan, a princess born with much fierceness, believed herself bound in honour to pursue the murderer of her son, who had done to her husband a signal insult and just missed slaying him; a man besides who had pillaged the richest and

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most flourishing city (Surat) of the Mogul. She was so much near the king and sustained against Shivaji a party so powerful, that it was resolved to arrest him. The Emperor wished to give that satisfaction to the mourner and the friends of his uncle; but he had given his word, and in the need he had of himself to open the means of making Shivaji, escape a short time after from his prison. These arrangements succeeded badly with the king, he pleased no body in wishing to satisfy all the world. Shivaji did not feel anything except the injury which he had done to him and the partisans of Shaista Khan took very ill the escape of the prisoner of which the ease betrayed the Emperor. (page 47 and 48 of the Historical Miscellany)

8. Alamgir Nama (1710) says :—

"As commanded, Kumar Ramsing and Muklish Khan introduced Shivaji and his son, the boy Sambhaji to His Majesty. Shiva professed the utmost humility, loyalty, lowliness and submission and observed the etiquette of service and salute of devotion. He kissed the ground before the throne and presented 1500 Mohurs and Rs. 6000 as Nazar. After making his bow he was by command given a place on the carpet near the throne of the Emperor and stood among the celebrated nobles at a

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proper place. As Jaising had sent Shiva to the court with the request that he might on his arrival be exalted with Imperial favours, the Emperor graciously over-looked his past offences. His Majesty's intention was to confer many kinds of favours on Shiva on the day of Audience, permit him to come to court for some time and then give him leave to depart. But as this wretch had passed all his life with the wild people of his jungle of ignorance, was intoxicated with pride and had never before enjoyed honour of a royal audience, he knew not the etiquette of Imperial courts and cherished some absurd ideas and hopes. So, in spite of the great favour of the Emperor, he, after standing for a while, created a scene, retired to a corner, and told Kumar Ramsing he was disappointed, making unreasonable and foolish complaints. The Emperor on hearing of it considered Shiva unfit to come near his throne and sent him away to his quarters; hence the many favours intended for Shiva, were not actually bestowed and he was forbidden the court. Kumar Ramsing, his intermediary, had a house outside the city, and was ordered to lodge Shiva near it and look after him but to bring with himself Sambha, a commander of 5000, at every visit that he paid to the

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court. When the Emperor learnt of Shiva's deception and villainy and thought it probable that he would escape, he ordered Phulad Khan, the Kotwal of the city to guard his place."

9. Shiva Digvijaya (1718) says :—

"Ramsing met Shivaji there (Agra) and made the substanae of the Emperor's speech known to him. The interview was to be according to the manner and style of one that Shahaji had, when he had visited Bijapur. 'After due salutations, you will answer what he will ask, or you will point your fingers to me and I shall submit your prayers and get them granted.' said Ramsing. The Raja answered, "the interview should be on terms of equality. I will not salute a Turk by touching the earth with my hands." Ramsing's reply to the Raja's objection was that, as the Maharaja had come to the Emperor for his own interest it would not be wrong to pay respects in the prescribed form. Get what you want and when the Emperor will go to your place, demand an interview on terms of equality. Until that time do not think of it." Ramsing then explained to him the usual limit to be observed in approaching the throne and in speaking

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there. The Raja listened to him. When asked by Ramsing, he went to the interview. On the right near the Imperial throne, was the place of honour of Rahulla Khan Vazier. The Maharaja sat there. Ramsing first made his obeisance and then stepped aside to enable the Raja to pay his respects, but he lost his corporeal consciousness. He was greatly excited and thought, "why should I salute a Yavana?" The Emperor noticed his behaviour but he understood the case and was calmed when Ramsing remarked that the Maharaja was a 'Dakshini'. Then Aurangzeb addressed the Maharaja in following manner, "you have come a great distance. I have heard much about your deeds and I am highly pleased to see you. What I have heard of yon is really true. You are really a man of extraordinary capacity". Such was the regardful speech made by the Emperor and then he presented to the Raja and his son a neckless of pearls, a pearl-tura (tassel), a head-dress and clothes. The Maharaja replied, "you wanted to see me and sent a friendly invitation, so I come. You say I have come far, but this is my country. So the question of distance does not arise at all." In this manner did he speak. Then Ramsing got the signal to go away and he did the same thing to the Maharaja. He and his

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son got up without making the usual salute, to retire to the house appointed for them."

10. Khafi Khan (1740) says:—

"Raja Jaising had flattered Shivaji with promises but as the Raja knew the Emperor to have strong feeling against Shivaji, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out. The reception of Shivaji had not been such as he expected. As his 8 years old son Sambha had been created a commander of five thousand and his relation Netaji, too, had been raised to the same rank, this stupid, empty brained proud fellow (Shivaji) expected no less high a degree than the command of 7000 men. He did not receive most of the Royal favours with the promise of which the Raja (Jaising) had consoled him, because this wretch's acts had excited hatred in the pious Emperor's heart. Nor did he meet with the honourable welcome on the way, that he expected. Therefore, before the robe, jewels and elephant, which had been kept ready for him could be bestowed, he displayed his folly and meanness, instantly took refuge in cunning, deceitfully shammed heart sickness, retired to a nook, flung himself down upon the ground, like a prey pierced with the arrow or just entrapped, then after a time cunningly

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and deceitfully recovered consciousness and complained to Kumar Ramsing that he was very much disappointed and wished for his weapon with a view to commit suicide. When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house out side the city near to the house of Raja Jaising with orders to the Kotwal of Police Phulad Khan, to closely guard it."

11. Tarikh-i-Shivaji (1780) says;—

"Shivaji had begged permission to wait on the Emperor but on condition that Rajapur should be given to him as Jagir. The Mogul chiefs had agreed to it and had sent him to the court with Ramsing Hada. His son Sambhaji accompanied him. When near the capital, Shiva said "I shall not bend my head to make Kurnish (bow)". Ramsing replied "the Emperor is the shadow of God, respect and obedience to him brings greater prosperity in this world and the next.." Eventually he reached the court and had audience. The Emperor had heard of Shivaji's disobedience and pride, and, in order to satisfy the court etiquitte ordered a narrow and low arch to be set up in the gate of the Hall of

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Audience hoping that in passing through it, Shiva would be compelled by the low height of the arch, to bend his head and at that very moment, the Chobdar would usher him in accordance with the court rules. Shiva in coming, saw the low door, reflected, and first put his leg inside. Thus he entered without bowing[89]. The Durogha advanced took him by the hand and told him to make the Kurnish in proper way. Shiva stayed him with his hand and advanced. When he arrived near the throne, Ramsing beckoned to him to stand below the rank of the chief nobles. Shiva displeased at heart sat down behind the High Diwan, who with Ramsing turned their backs to him, stood up and said to the Emperor, "he has never before had the honour of a royal audience, hence his rude behaviour". His Majesty said, "let him go away." On Shivaji's departure, the Emperor was displeased and ordered Siddi Phulad to keep him under surveillance and guard. From this Shiva learnt that the Emperor was angry and he therefore thought of a remedy. Through Ramsing he submitted this prayer, "I have brought with myself some presents of our country. If it pleases His Majesty I may offer them to him." But it was declined.

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12. Orme (1782) says:—

"Jaising had secret instructions to entice Shivaji to Delhi (Agra?) but he preferred the nobler exercise of the sword, until the active and obstinate resistance of Shivaji produced a solemn assurance of safety from Aurangzeb himself on which Shivaji left for Agra with a decent retinue. The ladies of the Seraglio incited by the wife of Shaista Khan in revenge for the death of her son and the disgrace of her husband, solicited Aurangzeb, not unwilling, to destroy him. But the high Umraos said they had no other security for their own lives than the word of the king and that the Hindu Rajas would revolt at such a breach of faith to one of their own conditions. Shivaji at the Public Audience upbraided Aurangzeb with the intention and he said that he thought, Shaista Khan and Surat had taught him better the value of such a servant, then drew his dagger to stab himself but his arm was stopped. Aurangzeb condescended to soothe him, repeated his first assurance and requested his services in the expedition he was preparing against Kandahar. Shivaji replied he could command no troops but his own and was permitted to send for them. Nevertheless his dwelling and all doings were narrowly watched. He sent his letters by

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his trusty messengers who carried orders very different from the letters. His army moved into Gujrat on the road to Agra."

13. Jonathan Scott (1794) says :—

"Shivaji when introduced to the Imperial presence did not meet with honour he expected. Being placed among the Omrahs of five thousand, he asked, to what rank the station was assigned, and being told, it was that allotted to the Raja Ramsing Sesodia, he fainted away. Orders were given to carry him into the court of the bathing apartments (Ghusal Khana) where they fanned and sprinkled him with rose water. Apparently he was overcome by the splendour and magnificense of the Imperial court; but none were acquainted with his real disorder. When he came to himself he begged to be carried to the place appointed for his residence. Where he being arrived, he began to talk in a frantic manner and pretended madness."

14. Chitnis Bakhar (1810) says :—

"Ramsing informed the Badshah that Shivaji had come to Agra for interview. The Badshah ordered that the Raja should be brought on an auspicious day. There upon an auspicious day was ascertained and Ramsing took the Raja for an interview. On that day the



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Badshah arranged the Royal court very carefully and assembled all the principal nobles. Ramsing had carefully tutored the Maharaja about the customary proceeding that such an occassion demanded, as for example a Nazar before the interview, obeisance and salutes etc. He had told the Raja to observe the customs of the court and to serve the purpose for which he had come. The Raja agreed but when he went for the interview he felt a strong disinclination for saluting the Emperor by touching the ground with his hands, and in contradiction to the advice previously given omitted to salute the Emperor. Then Ramsing noticed this and came forward with the Nazar. The Badshah signalled the Raja with his hand to stand among the Amirs on the right side and the Raja went where the Khan, the Vazir and Raje Jaswantsing of Marwad stood and instead of remaining standing he sat above them. Ramsing noticed this and he himself stood in front of the Raja. When questioned by the Badshah Ramsing said, "the Raja is a Dakshini, he has not seen the Imperial court before." The Badshah realised that the Raja was a man of firm determination. He applied a handkerchief to his mouth and with a smile admired him. The Emperor gave permission

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to the Raja to retire after distribution of the betel leaves."

15. Dow (1812) says:—

"The principal ladies of the harem and among them Zebunnisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb saw from behind a curtain the behaviour of Shivaji. She was struck with the handsomeness of his person and she admired his pride and haughty deportment. The intrepidity of the man became the subject of much conversation. Some of the nobles interceded in his behalf and the princess was warm in her solicitations at the feet of her father. "Though I despise pomp," said Aurangzeb "I will have these honours which the refractory presume to refuse. Power depends upon ceremony and state, as much as upon abilities and strength of mind. But to please a daughter whom I love I will indulge Shivaji with an abatement of some of that obedience which conquered princes owe to the Emperor of the Moguls." The princess sent a message to the Raja and he was again introduced into the Hall of Audience. When he entered, the usher approached and commanded him to pay the usual obeisance at the foot of the throne. "I was born a prince," said he "and I know not how to act the part of a slave!" "but the vanquished" replied Aurangzeb "lose all their

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rights with their fortune; the sword has made Shivaji my servant; and I am resolved to relinquish nothing of what the sword has given." The Raja turned his back on the throne. The Emperor was enraged. He was about to issue his commands against Shivaji, when that prince spoke thus with a haughty tone of voice, "fortune cannot deprive me of my dignity of mind which nothing shall extinguish but death." The Emperor ordered him as a mad man from his presence and gave him in charge to Pulad, the Director General of the Imperial Camp."

16. Grant Duff (1826) says :—

"Shivaji accompanied by his eldest son Sambhaji, set out for Delhi (Agra) in the beginning of March 1666, attended by 500 choice horse and 1000 Mawlees. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Delhi (Agra) Ramsing, the son of Raja Jaising, and another officer of inferior rank, were the only persons sent by Aurangzeb to meet him. This marked slight did not pass unobserved; but Shivaji forbore noticing it, till, on being admitted to an audience and condescending to present Nuzzur (present) the place assigned to him was only amongst those who held the rank of 5000. He could no longer suppress resentment at this indignity, and he expressed, in the

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hearing of those near him, who repeated his words to the Emperor the indignation he felt at such treatment. In consequence of this language, when the audience was ended, and Shivaji had retired to the dwelling assigned to him, it was intimated that the Emperor for the future declined seeing him at court. Shivaji was justly alarmed at this communication, and after some delay, in order to ascertain the real intentions of Aurangzeb he sent Raghunath Pant Korde with a petition, setting forth the reasons which had induced him to visit Delhi (Agra), the promises and invitation of the Emperor, the services he had rendered, the condition to which Aurangzeb had subscribed, the readiness of Shivaji to fulfil his part of the agreement, and his assurance of affording every assistance to the Imperial troops in reducing the Edil Shahee or Kutub Shahee states. If, however, the Emperor did not choose to avail himself of his services he only asked permission to return to his Jageer, as the air and water of Hindosthan were prejudicial to his own health, as well as to that of the other natives of the Deccan by whom he was accompanied. Aurangzeb's answer was evasive and he shortly after directed the Kotwal of the city to place a guard over Shivaji's house; to watch his person carefully

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and never to allow him to quit his residence without a party responsible for his safe custody. Shivaji remonstrated, and complained particularly of the hardship of detaining his people. Aurangzeb readily granted pass-ports for their return to the Deccan and now, probably, considered Shivaji completely in his power. But it is the characterestic of cunning to over-reach itself, and, in the safe conduct afforded to his friends, Shivaji exulted in the greater facility it afforded of effecting his own escape. Ramsing was privy to his design, and on account of the pledge given by his father, connived at it, (this is distinctly asserted in the Chitnis manuscripts). The confinement of Shivaji was not so rigid as to prevent his paying visits. He frequently went to different nobles of the court, sent them presents, and endeavoured to interest them in his favour. In this manner an intimacy sufficient for Shivaji's purposes having taken place, he feigned sickness, sent for physicians took medicines, and was soon reported to be very ill. Pretending to have partially recovered he gave great charities to Brahmins and presents to physicians. He made up several long baskets, which were daily sent from his apartments filled with sweetmeats to the houses of different great men his acquaintances

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or to be distributed amongst faqueers at mosques. When the practice had continued for some time, he, one evening put Sambhaji into one basket, got into another himself and was thus conveyed by his domestics beyond the guards, to an obscure place where he could get out unseen. He thence proceeded to Mathura which he reached the next day where several of his Brahmins and his faithful friend Tanaji Maloosray were watching the result of his scheme."

17. Mill and Wilson (1826) says:—

"Shivaji had offered to conduct the war in Kandahar against the Persians. Had he been received with the honour to which he looked he might have been gained to the Mogul service, and the Empire of the Mahrattas would not have begun to exist. But Aurangzeb who might have dispatched Shivaji, resolved to humble the adventurer. When presented in the Hall of Audience, he was placed among the inferior Omrahs, which affected him to such a degree that he fainted away."

18. Elphinstone (1839) says:—

"While in Agra, Aurangzeb had now an opportunity of uniting Shivaji's interest to his own by liberal treatment and of turning a formidable enemy into a zealous servant, as had been done before

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with so many other Hindu princes; but his views in politics were as narrow as in religion and although he could easily suppress his feelings to gain any immediate advantage he was incapable of laying aside his prejudices or making such full and free concessions as might secure permanent attachment. More over he despised and disliked Shivaji. He felt the insult offered to his dignity as Emperor, the more because they came from so ignoble a hand; and so far mistook the person he had to deal with, as to think, he would be most easily managed by making him sensible of his own insignificance."

"The Emperor had now an opportunity
19. Marshman (1867) says:— of converting a formidable foe into a zealous adherent; but either he had not the tact of conciliation, or his pride rendered him blind to his interests. Shivaji found himself treated with wanton insult, and presented at the Darbar in company with nobles of the third rank. He left the Imperial presence burning with indignation and asked leave to return to his Jageer. But the object of the Emperor was to detain him and his residence was beleaguered and all his movements watched."

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20. James Douglas 1878 says :—

"Before Shivaji set out for Delhi (Agra) he was in very low water. From the capture of Torna (1646) to the sack of Surat 1664, his career had been a series of slartling successes. But now Jaising and Diler Khan the two generals whom Aurangzeb had dispatched to the Deccan, were too much for him and had brought him to his knees. What filled Shivaji's cup of calamity to the brim was the fact that his wives and children were now locked up in the fort of Sinhgad near Poona and were at the disposal of the enemy. Shivaji was very fond of his family and the enemy worked this lever with success. It was then he made his submission to the Mogul and signed the treaty of Purandhar by which he gave away two dozen of his strongest forts and bound himself to go in person to Delhi (Agra) to make obeisance to his new liege Lord, Aurangzeb. Other men had done this and he could do the same. Jaising, a Rajput prince of great possession, had done it, and Jaising was of such ancient lineage that Shivaji seemed the clay of yesterday, fresh from the potter's hand in comparison there of. Shivaji had Rajput blood in his veins. A common feeling makes us wondrous kind; so Jaising and Shivaji became great friends. He

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it was who suggested the Delhi (Agra) visit to Shivaji, gave his son Ramsing to accompany him, and it is now considered almost without a doubt that when Jaising heard that Shivaji's life was threatened by the Emperor he connived at his escape from Delhi (Agra). In all matters, early in 1666, Jaising was the go-between of Shivaji and the Emperor. Aurangzeb was no sooner informed of Shivaji's intended visit, than he gave orders to all the Foujdars and Mokashis on his line of march to provide forage and provisions for him and his retinue. Shivaji left Rajgad in great state with two thousand foot and five hundred horse. He went by way of Bijapur, reason unknown. Jaising accompanied him as far as Aurangabad and parted with him there. He had begun to have misgivings regarding the success of Shivaji's visit, halted there and gave him letter to his son Ramsing, who had gone on before to the court of Delhi (Agra), and Jaising expected to see him again on his return journey. Burhanpur came next. Shivaji had started faom Rajgad early in March a fine time for travelling in India and on his way must have seen the great Forts of Deogiri or Doulatabad, Ashirgad and Gwalior. Now, if there was one thing that was the desire of Shivaji's heart, it was a great fort. This was

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the apple of his eye. It is vain to imagine what he thought of Doulatabad the key of the Deccan but it must have come upon him as a surprise. That stronghold seen from afar cuts the skyline, in majestic simplicity like the crusading castle of Barias with the plains of Syria beneath it, and leaves an impression never to be effaced. Was Panhala as good? No, not even Panhala, not Lohgad, nor Sinhgad, the lion's den. Nature had done everything, and art had done everything so that nothing except the ant and the lizard could scale its walls, so impregnable were the bastions of Deogiri or Doulatabad. Doubtless Shivaji heaved a deep sigh and passed on. Gwalior was swollowed up with memories of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jehan. Agra was reached. The Emperor being now informed of Shivaji's approach, sent out Ramsing and Mukhlis Khan an inferior officer, to meet him and to escort him to Agra. After about 3 months travelling, this was the reception meted out to Shivaji Raje and the flower of the Deccan Chivalry, by the Emperor of Delhi. You may be sure that Shivaji had a lump in his throat, for, at one glance he now took in the whole position; so did every man of his dust-covered and toil-worn cavalcade as with sinking hearts each passed through the gates of the Imperial

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city. I suppose that every day in the year some stranger visits the Hall of Audience in the palace of the Moguls at Delhi and Agra. Here Shivaji had his audience of the Emperor. The Pachad manuscript states that the Emperor was on his throne, so there seems little doubt that this was the scene of the celebrated interview. Pomp and circumstance of every kind, you may depend upon it, were not wanting to impress the mind of the great barbarian, with the wealth and the power of Aurangzeb. The time was 22nd May? (12th May 1666) and the heat as we all know, must have been fervent and oppressive. The astrologers had fixed on an auspicious day that is for the Emperor, but from what I gather all the resources of augury and divination were insufficient to drive away from the Emperor a great and secret dread that some mischief would befall him. Conscience makes cowards of us all, and the Emperor had a kind of conscience. On this occasion he wore chain armour under his muslin dress and had five weapons about his person. Moreover he had two thousand of his bravest men near around him. Where they were stowed away we must leave others to determine, who are familiar with the topography of the place. But remembering Afzal Khan's and Jaoli's assa-

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ssinations and Poona palace escalade, remembering also his own crimes, in the expressive language of the Holy writ, "the shaking of a leaf," would on that memorable day, have put him to flight. Shivaji, he said, was not a man but a devil. It may help the reader to fill in the picture by reminding him, that Aurangzeb was now 48 and Shivaji about 39 years of age; and it may add to its interest if we mention one or two of the spectators who were present on this memorable day. Two great Rajput chiefs were present on this memorable day. Two great Rajput chiefs were present who had been compelled to yield to the colossal power of the Mogul. Yeshwant or Jaswant sing Maharaj of Marwar (Land of death), a potentate whose dominions had stretched from Gujarat to Ajmer, now a vassal of Aurangzeb. His capital was Jodhpur. He had fought in the Deccan for the Emperor, fought beyond the Indus with the Afgans for him and was destined to die at Kabul.

There was Ramsing son of Jaising, who had brought Shivaji a suppliant to his lord. The Amber (Jaipur) prince, as he was called, of high descent. Was not Shaha Jehan's mother—a daughter of the house of Amber? There was Shaista Khan Amir-Ul-Umrao,

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This was the man whose palace in Poona, Shivaji attacked (1663) in a wild midnight raid from Sinhgad. He now stands minus some of his fingers lopped off on that memorable occassion. It was then, his son was slain. Has he forgotten the slaying and hacking of his people in that midnight raid? At this interview, for obvious reasons, Shivaji's retinue was limited to ten men and Ramsing accompanied him. When Shivaji had placed himself before the Empror he gave three bows, oriental salaams as we understand them, down to the ground. One was for Mahadeo, one for Bhavani, and one for his father. This is Shivaji's version as to how he meant them, but the bye-standers and the Emperor no doubt construed them as his profound obeisance to the august presence. As he drew himself erect on his feet from his last salaam he exchanged glances with the Emperor. Shivaji had a wonderful eye; it was now an angry eye and like the sword of Diocletian, worked busy as the lightening, whether from a sense of humiliation or otherwise, we do not now enquire. The Emperor, immediately after Shivaji had finished his devoirs, asked Ramsing with apparent nonchalance if the person he had introduced were Shivaji. "I am Shivaji," said the uncrowned king of the

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Mahrattas, and as the words rang round the assembly, all eyes were atonce turned in the direction of this wildman of the woods from the jungles and rocky fastnesses of the Deccan. "Yes, I am Shivaji, and you will know all this better by and by." The truth is, Shivaji was in no condition of mind to meet the Emperor, nor the Emperor Shivaji. My Pachad authority avers that before the brief part of the ceremony which we have recorded was begun an altercation took place. The angry words of which in part reached the Emperor's ear. What it was about he could not make out, but it disturbed his equanimity and broke that profound repose we are accustomed to witness in oriental Darbars. It was the old story of precedence, that fruitful source of mischief in the East. Somebody was standing before Shivaji and a degree nearer the fountain of honour, when Shivaji asked who he was, and what business he had there, Ramsing replied that it was Jaswant. When he was told by Shivaji, that he had better Amirs than he in his own court at Rajgad and so the war of words went on. It seems strange that Shivaji did not recognise Jaswant, for, he must have seen him in the Deccan. But a Raja in a Darbar and in a crush, with his back to you, smothered as he would be, no doubt on this

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big occasion with jewels and cloth of gold, must have been, except to his intimate friends beyond all recognition. In all this Shivaji seems to have been very wrong. No doubt in history Shivaji bulks bigger than twenty Jaswants, but in Delhi or Agra, in this year of grace 1666, Jaswant was greater than he, and did not require a book of precedence to define his position. Jasvant to use the language of that day, was descended from the God Rama, while all that was known about Shivaji was that he had a grand-father. Jaswant was a great vassal with a revenue at one time of nine crores, holding one of the highest commands in the Empire, while Shivaji had just been beaten in the open field and divested of twenty four of his greatest forts. For, to obtain the command of ten thousand and with it to destroy and himself supplant the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur and the Kutub Shahi king of Golkonda, *with* Delhi as his buckler and *ægis* of defence in case of need; this certainly was Shivaji's object in coming to Delhi (Agra) in the year 1666. But now comes the denouement. Taking up the thread of our narrative; the obeisance had been made and Shivaji's words of self assertion uttered, and not one moment lost in his

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presentation of the Nazar of 30 thousand rupees. But when his rank of 5000 reached his years he stepped back. What with the reception he met with when he entered Delhi (Agra), what with Jaswant being preferred before him and the rank assigned him, being that of his own son, a boy 9 years of age, Shivaji was stunned and at the boiling point of indignation. So. still within earshot of the Emperor, but stepping back from the royal presence (it was the work of a moment) he asked Ramsing for his dagger. It appears from this that he had not been permitted to carry arms to the assembly. What he intended to do with the dagger had he obtained it, is unknown—Aurangzeb, Jasvant, or himself or run amuck? (In 1634, the eldest son of the Raja of Marwar[90] ran amuck at the court of Shah Jehan, failing his blow at the Emperor, but killing five courtiers of eminence before he fell himself). Probably he did not know himself, for the paroxysm was so great that as Elphinstone tells us, he fell down in a swoon, which brought the proceedings to an abrupt termination and rendered the ceremony incomplete. Either immediately before his fall, simultaneously, or hard on the back of it, Aurangzeb ordered Shivaji to be conducted to his quarters and debarred the royal



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presence for the future, which order executed, the Emperor breathed somewhat freer and he said, that a calamity had been averted, what it was, he did not indicate. As a matter of course the rest of the pageant was "maimed rites", or no rites at all, for, the honourary dress, the jewels, the elphant, customary on such occassions and all ready for presentation were dispensed with by order of Aurangzeb. The Emperor now instructed the Kotwal or chief of the Police to surround Shivaji's dwelling and keep him under strict surveillance. He was clearly now a prisoner to all intents and purposes and completely for life or for death at Aurangzeb's disposal; and I dare say the latter regretted all his life afterwards that he did not make short work of Shivaji when he was then in his power. But at this period he held Shivaji cheap. He had two pictures painted, one of Shivaji reclining on a couch rather an abnormal attitude for the great *'caitiff'*, the other was of Durgadas the noted Rajput leader, on horse back, toasting barley cakes at the fire on the end of a lance. "This fellow," said the Emperor pointing at Shivaji, "I can entrap easily, but this dog Durga, is born to be my bane." And so, he lost his chance, and the day ends with Shivaji racked on his cot and Aurangzeb "uneasy rests the head that wears a Crown."

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21. Murry (1882) says:—

"Shivaji seems to have gone to court with the expectation of being treated as an Omrao of the first class, and was therefore deeply mortified when he found himself received by the Emperor with studied contempt and consigned to quite a secondary rank. If we may believe some respectable historians, the daughter of Aurangzeb (Zebunnisa Begum) seeing the young stranger from behind a curtain became enamoured of him-of which Shivaji being apprised, he made overtures for her hand!!! which were rejected by the monarch with the deepest indignation. More diligent enquiries regarding this tender interlude proved as altogether apocryphal, but at all events the discomfitted chief saw himself a closely watched and unhonoured captive, in the hands of one whose wiles were as deep as his own."

22. Stanley Lane Poole (1893) says:—

"The Maratha chief not only agreed to surrender the majority of his strongholds, and to become once more the vassal of the Emperor but actually went to Delhi (Agra) and appeared in person at the court of the Great Mogul, to do homage to his Suzerain for no less a feoff than the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. No more

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amazing apparition than this sturdy little 'mountain rat' among the stately grandeur of a gorgeous court could be imagined."

"The visit was not a success, Aurangzeb clearly did not understand the man he had to deal with; and showed a curious lack of political sagacity in his reception of the Maratha. No prince or general in all India could render the Emperor such aid in his designs against the Deccan kingdoms as the rude highlander who had at last come to his feet. A good many points might well be stretched to secure so valuable an ally. But Aurangzeb was a bigot and inclined to be fastidious in some things. He could not forget that Shivaji was a fanatical Hindu, and a vulgar brigand to boot. He set himself the task of showing the Maratha his real place, and far from recognizing him as Viceroy of the Deccan, let him stand unnoticed among third rank officers in the splendid assembly that daily gathered before the throne in the Great Hall of Audience. Instead of securing an important ally, Aurangzeb had made an implacable enemy."

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23, Sidney Owen (1912) says:—

"But at Delhi (Agra) Shivaji's sanguine hopes were promptly dashed. Shivaji's annoyance, disappointment, and complaints, which are recorded by Khafi Khan, and consequences of which were so eventful in the sequel, were the natural results of the double dealing policy of Jaising, though neither Ramsing Jaising's son, to whom they were confided, nor the historian himself, seems to have understood their deepest ground. Khafi Khan implies that Shivaji took offence at the mere circumstance, that the Munsub granted to him was not high enough but only the same as was bestowed on his young son and on one of his relatives, Netaji, who had done good service in the late campaign against Bijapur, namely, that of a Panjhajari or nominal commander of five thousand men instead of a Haft Hajari or commander of seven thousand. This was no doubt a grievance, capable of being avowed as a breach of specific assurance at the opening of the negotiations, and placing Shivaji on the same level with his son and follower. But this was not the root of bitterness of spirit which he exhibited. He was not a man to resent wrathfully the mere fact that, so to speak, he had been made a C. B. instead of a K. C. B. Then

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the question naturally arises, as to why he was so seriously perturbed and so bitterly disappointed? Was it not because he realised that he was checked, if not checkmated, in his deep, secret game? Because he had too good reasons to suspect that Aurangzeb was resolved to give him no opportunity of playing it, and whether the arch dissembler saw through him or not, judged that he himself had done enough by putting him off with a second rate honourary decoration, and had no intention of employing him in such a position as was indispensible for his ulterior purpose."

"This was not the kind of reception Shivaji had so long been picturing to himself and expecting, as almost a certainty, from his many conversations with Jaising. He found himself standing behind several rows of nobles who almost shut him from the Emperor's view. He learnt from Ramsing that he was among the commanders of 5 thousand. Stung to fury by what he considered a public humiliation, Shivaji expostulated with Ramsing in high tones and even wanted to commit suicide rather than outlive such a shame. Ramsing alarmed at this unexpected development and the breach of court etiquette caused

24. Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (1919) says:—

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by Shivaji's loud voice and violent gestures, tried his best to pacify him but invain. Swelling with suppressed anger and fretting within himself in bitterness of mortification, Shivaji fell down in a swoon. There was a stir among the courtiers. The Emperor asked what the matter was. Ramsing deplomatically replied, "the tiger is a wild beast of forest. He feels oppressed by heat in a place like this and has been taken ill." Aurangzeb graciously ordered the sick Raja to be removed to an anti-chamber and sprinkled with rose water, and, on his restoration to his senses, gave him leave to go to his quarters without waiting for the close of the Darbar."

25. Beveridge says :—

"Shivaji's reception at Agra was mortifying in the extreme. On approaching the capital he was met only by an officer of inferior rank and on entering the presence was ordered to take his place among commanders of the third rank. Overpowered by feelings of shame and indignation, he sank behind and fell down in a swoon. What Aurangzeb intended by this treatment is not very obvious. If he thought that the Mahratta spirit was thus to be tamed, he was mistaken. Shivaji only burned for revenge and preparatory to it, began with all his usual craft to plan an escape."

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"The wily Mahratha was in this instant duped by the equally wily Mogul; while at Agra Aurangzeb thought his foe secure within his grasp and instead of acting as Akbar would have done, by surpassing in courtesy and generosity, the expectations he had raised and binding to him the new submissive chief by ties of self-interest, at least if not gratitude—he broke every pledge, received him with marked disrespect and caused him to be placed among the commanders of the third rank in the very position promised to his child. Overpowered by rage and mortification, Shivaji sank to the ground in a swoon and on recovering his senses bitterly reproached Ramsing with breach of his father Jaising's plighted faith and then declaring that life was valueless to him without honour; abruptly quitted the Imperial presence. Aurangzeb astounded hy this unexpected display of vehemence, refused again to receive him."

26. Montgomery Martin says :—

20. From all the extracts quoted above, it appears, that Shivaji had been given to understand that he would receive a very good treatment at the Imperial Court and being treated with scant courtsey and total indifference in the Hall of Audience and in the

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presence of some of the nobles, whom his arm had humbled, he thought he was deliberately insulted and so gave vent to words which of course, were not relished by Aurangzeb. According to some authors Shivaji out of sheer rage, lost his corporeal consciousness and fell down and according to others, he quitted the Hall of Audience, where he had been insulted, abruptly without permission. According to some, he got so wild over the treatment meted out to him, that he asked for a weapon from Ramsing, with a view to put an end to his life, exclaiming, that he preferred death to dishonour. He then turned his back on the throne and left the Hall abruptly. From this, it appears that he was not allowed to carry arms with him while at court, for fear he might play some mischief while making obeisance to the Emperor.

Dow is responsible for the story about princess Zebunnisa and Murray and Douglas seem to follow him that she took some interest in Shivaji [91] and through her intercession Aurangzeb seems to have granted Shivaji a second interview. Whatever it is, we Marathas are sincerely grateful to this broad-minded and sagacious princess for the noble part she might have played at Agra, and the part that her sister Zinatun-nisa Begum (who

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may as well have been present with her sister at the time of the Darbar) played later on, in taking a most affectionate care of Shivaji's grandson Shahu, whose father Sambhaji, was cruelly and mercilessly done to death by Aurangzeb, the father of this very humanely inclined lady, at Tulapur near Poona.[92] Had it not been for her, (Zinnatun-nisa) Aurangzeb would never have lost the opportunity to convert the young prisoner prince Shahu to the religion of Islam. We shall not be wrong, if we were to say, that princess Zebunissa may have exerted some of her influence in seeing the great Shivaji escape from Agra, in 1666 A. D.

21. History does not say, that Aurangzeb did ever care to see Shivaji after his first interview[93] in the Hall of Audience. He was quite sure the bird had been trapped and he was safely lodged too with no hope of escape. Phuladkhan's guards vigilantly watched day and night every action of all the members of the great man's establishment. It has been said by Manucci, that Shivaji was lodged in a a tent (and Bernier says the same) and that orders had been issued to Fida-i-Khan to build a house in which he was to be transferred later on. Once in a building, the world

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would never have been able to see any trace of him. Once a man, whether he was a prince or a grandee, was immured by order of Aurangzeb in the dungeons of a castle, he was no longer seen or heard of. According to Manucci, immediately after the completion of Fida-i-Khan's palace, Shivaji under the pretext of honouring him, was to be removed to it and there to be smotherd and buried on the spot. (See notes 102-103)

Bold as he was, Shivaji did realise in a minute the imminence of his peril. He was not a man to give vent to grief or be staggered with the intensity of the calamity. He had braved many a storm. He had had narrow escapes in his miraculous career and Heaven seemed to favour him every time, dangers and difficulties gathered thickly around him. The greater the intensity and virulence of the storm, the clearer was his vison and foresight. His courage was never damped. He, therefore, immediately after his "Nazarkaid" set his mind to devise some plans, with a view to effect his escape.

22. The die was cast. The inevitable had happened. What to do was the next question. How was he to extricate himself and others from the danger, he himself had

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seemingly courted. No time was to be lost. He gathered around him his best lieutenants and sat in deliberation. Many a plan was discussed and it was resolved to send his Vakil-Ragho Ballal Korde to the Emperor with a request that he (Shivaji) should be permitted to return to the Deccan with the understanding, that he was to help Aurangzeb in annexing the two Mohomedan kingdoms which were an eye-sore to him. He also told Korde, to obtain Aurangzeb's permission for a personal interview with a view to explain to him the whole situation. Ragho Ballal Korde presented a petition to the Emperor, stating in that all that Shivaji had told him to say. Aurangzeb scented danger. He did not give any definite reply but wrote on the back of the petition "I will do what you have asked for". and told him to have patience. He had not yet arrived at any definite conclusion as to what he was to do with him.[94] Jaising had promised Shivaji that he would be allowed to return to the Deccan with safety, and he had also promised him a safe return. Shaista Khan's wife had evidently presented a complaint and was pressing Aurangzeb hard to punish him with death, as he had killed her son and injured her husband in his night attack on Shaista Khan's camp at Poona. He

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was also in constant communication with Jaising and wanted to know from him as to how his campaign against Bijapur was likely to end and what promise if any, he had given to Shivaji.[95] He, in fact, wanted to calculate what the immediate result of his decision in this case would be. If Shivaji was released what effect would that produce on his administration in general, and whether it would in any way further his conquests in the Deccan and if he were to be got rid of,[96] as he was already a prisoner in his hands, what would be the immediate result of such an action. He was very much annoyed with the conduct of Shivaji at court. "Had not the so called disrespectful bearing" of Shivaji struck Aurangzeb as symptomatic of the spirit of selfassertion and latent disaffection, which he had never ceased to fear, might still lurk in the breast of the wily though hither to seemingly obsequious suppliant for his favour? And if so, might he not be considering the expediency of ridding himself of all danger from such a quarter, by putting Shivaji to death, or immuring him for ever, as he did so many other dangerous political personages, in Gwalior? This seems to us by no means improbable. He also thought of sending him to Afghanistan[97] with a view to keep him away from the scene

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of his operations. He also thought of keeping him in Agra under surveillance and then to advance in person to the Deccan for the conquest of the two Mahomedan states. Jaising did not advise the Emperor to release and send Shivaji into the Deccan for some time as circumstances had changed considerably since his departure to Agra. As there was not any hope of success and a speedy termination of the war in the Deccan, there was thus no hope of Shivaji's release at an early date. If we have been rather lengthy in endeavouring to thread the maze of this encounter of wit between these two consummately artful rivals our apology must be that the fate of the Mogul Empire hung on the issue." (Fall of the Mogul Empir by S. Owen.)

23. Failing to get a satisfactory reply from Aurangzeb, Shivaji tried to approach Jafar Khan[98] the Prime Minister. Ragho Ballal Korde, saw him and explained to him the situation. Jafar Khan's wife being the sister of Shaista Khan, joined with her sister-in-law and tried to preveil upon Jafar Khan not to grant an interview to Shivaji. Jafar Khan was reminded not to trust him as he had killed Afzul Khan and Abdul Fate the son of Shaista Khan and brought the latter into disgrace. Jafar Khan warned the Em-

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peror against granting an interview to Shivaji as it would be dangerous to trust him. Shivaji coming to know of Jafar Khan's warning to Aurangzeb, did send him a message to say, that he was going to see him personally. Jafar Khan could not say, nay, and he allowed him to see him. He treated him very courteously but he cut short the interview by saying, "I shall petition the Badshah[99] and get you a Saranjam." Shivaji did also try to approach every responsible officer at court to intercede on his behalf, but when he knew that the Emperor was obdurate, he changed his policy and petitioned that in the interest of the Emperor it was advisable to allow the escort to go back to the Deccan as he did not like the state to be encumbered with a heavy expenditure on its account. He submitted that he was reconciled to his fate and wanted to remain as His Majesty's "honoured guest" so long as it pleased him to entertain him as such. He even talked of bringing his family from the Deccan, so that he may at least live a life of ease at Agra in future. The Emperor swallowed the bait and thought that Shivaji had thus completely climbed down and surrendered himself into his hands, and if he (Aurangzeb) allowed the escort to depart, he would thus have a very limited number to

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feed and watch. He (Shivaji) would, when all his men had gone, be without friends in a foreign land and thus he would be completely at his mercy. He allowed the bulk of his officers to leave him too. Aurangzeb's anxiety was thus to a great extent relieved by this move on Shivaji's part. Shivaji then began to devise serious plans of his escape from Agra in future. He requested the Emperor to allow him to visit the Umraos and Grandees with a view to his getting acquainted with them as it was now incumbent on him to stay at court. The Emperor did not see any objection to allow him this concession and Shivaji within a few days got acquainted with all the important personages at court. He made a very good impression on them and made them believe that he was already one of them and that he was determined to serve His Majesty loyally and get distinction. This talk was of course very faithfully communicated to His Majesty by Phulad Khan who began to think that Shivaji was gradually changing his mind in the right direction.

24. Shivaji allowed almost all important personages about him to depart from Agra avowedly with the object of their returning to the Deccan. It was given out that the climate of the north did not agree very well

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with the southerners and as Aurangzeb very gladly acquiesced with the proposal of their return, he never objected to their going back to the Deccan. On being told to go back to the Deccan, Prataprao Gujar, one of Shivaji's trusted officers, flatly refused to go and respectfully entered into a strong protest that he and the others, would never desert their beloved chief, in a land full of enemies. He prayed that his Chief should not urge them to depart. Shivaji had then a secret conference with all his trusted men and then they left. We feel no doubt at all to say, that none of them did really leave for the Deccan, but they all lived round about Agra in every possible disguise, to keenly watch their beloved chief and be of use to him in case of necessity. Shivaji did actually engage the services of local men as his servants, retaining very few of his own men and thus showed that he had thoroughly resigned himself to his fate. It was then that his ever fertile brain thought of some plan and with his characteristic ingenuity extricated himself from the dangerous position in which he had been placed. He began to observe Thursday as the day of great religious festivity. Ramsing, the son of Jaising and Balaji Aoji Chitnis were both instrumental in making a very good impres-



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sion on Rahulla Khan the Finance minister and one of the grandees or Umraos at court, who was supposed to have some influence with Aurangzeb, to induce Aurangzeb to allow Shivaji to send baskets of sweets and fruits to big personages, Pirs, and great religious personages from among the Mahomedans and Hindus.[100] Aurangzeb saw no objection to grant this favour and so Shivaji began to send big baskets of fruits and sweetmeats to all the Umraos and Grandees with whom he had recently become acquainted. He also patronised the holy persons in charge of mosques and temples in the city of Agra with a view to obtain their blessings. These baskets or hampers of sweets were big enough to be carried by two persons and some times more and all those that received them began to praise the magnanimity and superbly charitable nature of the man that thought of sending them such valuable presents. There was no end to these baskets coming in and going out. The lynx-eyed guards of Phulad Khan vigilantly inspected every basket coming in and going out. Shiwaji had not of course forgotten[101] these ever vigilant and faithful guardians of his. He was very kindly disposed towards them as he could not bear to see them stand day and night doing their duty at great

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personal risk. He treated them profusely to the sweets and even they began to think after some time in their heart of hearts, that it was very cruel of the Emperor, to ask them to watch a man, who was so generous and so versatile. They then naturally relaxed their vigilance about the man, whom they had begun to like. All the baskets were not inspected as before and they were allowed to pass after a few had been opened and inspected.

25. Shivaji's object in allowing almost all dear dependants of his to leave him, was to ensure his as well as their safety. He would not have liked his men to suffer acts of unimaginable cruelty at the hands of Aurangzeb after his escape which he was planning. He wanted to be free from all such anxieties, at the same time to create a feeling of security in the heart of Aurangzeb, who was thus persuaded to believe that he need not be very particularly anxious about him. He then feigned illness. He did not like anybody to disturb him; and showed that he was vexed immediately anybody made an attempt to see him and talk to him. He thus created an atmosphere of uneasiness and anxiety about him and people that knew him and sympathised with him began to feel anxious about the

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man who was doing so much for them. Hakims and physicians were often times sent for and they were frequently by his side. He then showed that he was improving through the attention of these worthies. To express his gratitude to his Gods and the physicians and all those that had taken keen interest in him in his days of illness, he redoubled the presents. While this was going on he heard a rumour that he was to be transferred to the newely built palace[102] of Fida-i-Khan. (Phulad Khan?) in a day or two. He had terrible misgivings of this, and he therefore, as recorded by Manucci, planned to effect his escape before that ominous day dawned. Ramsing had also spent large sums of money to get reliable information regarding the Emperor's intentions towards Shivaji and he gave a hint to him regarding the danger he scented ahead. His trusted men, the very few that had remained with him, went out on different errands and his natural brother Hiroji Farjand who was exactly like him in appearance remained with him. On Shravan Vadya 12th, Shak 1588, Friday, according to Jedhe Sakavali, (17th of August, 1666.) he and his son Sambhaji entered in two of the biggest baskets and were carried out[103] of his place of internment after sun-set through a line

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of armed guards who never for a minute thought or suspected that the great man who was their Emperor's prisoner and over whom they had been ordered to keep a vigilant watch, was even then being taken out and escaping. The baskets were taken to a place of rendezvous, where they were allowed to be dropped and the porters were allowed to go. Niraji Raoji one of Shivaji's greatest officers and the father of the equally great and renowned Pralhad Niraji, as also Balaji Aoji and the ever vigilant Tanaji Malusray were present with others. They took the great man out with his son and they were made to mount the horses that were kept ready for them and the party left for Mathura in a northerly direction instead of to the south which should have been the direction for them to escape.

26. Hiroji Farjand had told the guards that Shivaji was very badly ill and that he did not like to be disturbed. Men were hurrying out to show that they were in great anxiety about the great man's health and medical aid was being sought for. Time had to be gained to allow Shivaji to put as much distance as was possible between him and Agra. Hiroji[104] lay on Shivaji's bed in a state of utter collapse with only one of his bare arms out

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of his quilt. One of his fingers bore Shivaji's signet ring. The sentries as usual at stated intervals passed slowly by and peeped in with the object of satisfying themselves that their trust was safe. A boy was seen at the sleeping man's feet, engaged in the act of massaging. The night passed on and the morning too. There was no bustle, no men coming in and going out as usual. A feeling of uneasiness seemed to pervade everywhere. In the mean time Hiroji and the boy came out of their place and told the guards that they were going out to the physician as the patient seemed to have grown worse. These two left the place at 3 p.m. and after some time the guards again peeped in to find that there was no body inside. The alarm was sounded and a close search ensued. There was none inside the place, not one of the men of the great prisoner. A report was made that Shivaji was not in his place and had apparently escaped. Nobody knew how. Phulad Khan rushed to the place and satisfied himself that the bird had flown. The miraculous escape of the great Maratha Chief from the Deccan became the topic of the whole of Agra. In this connection Dilkash says:—"When Phulad Khan was informed by his guards that they could not see Shiva as usual in the morning, he entered his room and

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found some body sleeping in his place. He roused the sleeper. The man got up. On being asked who he was and where Shiva was, he replied, "In the evening he had placed me on the Charpoi (cot) and gone away. I know not whither." Phulad Khan led away the man and some other servants bound, and reported to the Emperor who bade a strict search to be made and sent orders to the Governors of the provinces to arrest Shiva. Pandit Rai alias Krishna Bhaskar, Darogha of the couriers (Harkaras) was disgraced for failing to report the news of the flight."—Dilkash, pp. 50–57.

Khafi Khan says:—

"At first Shiva cunningly professed friendliness to the nobles and to Kumar Ramsing, sent presents and rarities of the Deccan to them and thus made them his mediators for pardon, displaying repentance and shame for what he had done. Then he feigned illness, groaning and crying aloud and showing signs of increased weakness and on the ground of pain in the liver and spleen, he took to bed. Thereafter giving out that the disease had developed into soreness of the lungs, he subjected himself to the medicine and treatment of Hindu physicians and Hakims. Some time passed thus. Next he announced his cure,

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took the bath of recovery and began to distribute rewards to his physicians, musicians, and freinds, to feed the Brahmins and to give pious offerings of raw grain and money to the Hindu and Muslim poor. Large baskets lined with paper were filled with sweetmeats and sent to the mansions of the nobles and monasteries of Faquirs. Then on the plea that he was going to give two or three swift horses to Brahmins he sent them with his trusted men to a suitable place 28 miles from the capital and had them kept ready there. Then he and his son couched in two baskets escaped.

The story runs that next day (18-8-1666) 15 hours after Shivaji's flight, a Deccani courier (Harkara) employed as a spy and informer reported to the Emperor that Shiva had got out and was fleeing. The Kotwal was ordered to enquire, but he said the guards were present around his house. Again the courier strongly asserted that Shivaji, had fled. The Kotwal's men went in and saw Shiva sleeping, the bracelet on his arm peeping from under his thin cover. For the third time the courier urged "if Shiva has not by this time covered 80 miles, you slay me." Then a thorough enquiry was made and the escape discovered."—(Khafi Khan, VII, pp. 198, 200.)

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27. When Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb, was taken to task by the Emperor, for his great negligence in allowing Shivaji to raid his camp at Poona, on the 5th of April 1663, Sunday, in the month of Ramjan, thus, contributing to the lowering of his and his Emperor's prestige in the eyes of the people, Shaista Khan had pleaded his inability to cope with a man who was regarded by him and others either as a wizard or a devil. He was, it was alleged, gifted with super-natural powers as he could appear and disappear without being noticed. It was therefore beyond human power to trap him or to detain him. This report, then spread in self-defence by Shaista Khan, had been believ ed by the superstitious people, but had been sneered at and scoffed with scorn by the ever suspicious and alert monarch. But when Ramsing, the son of Jaising went and report-ed to the Emperor the news of the escape of Shivaji, he thought Shaista Khan may have been right in attributing Satanic powers to the "hell dog" Shivaji. Ramsing was suspected of having a hand in the escape of the prisoner and he was forbidden to appear at court. Terbiut Rai, the superintendent of the spies at Agra, was disgraced for not having given in-formation regarding the conspiracy to escape

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and the stratagem used to effect it. Phulad Khan, the commandant of the corps of guards could never believe that Shivaji had escaped as a "Man." If he did believe so and plead guilty for this act of negligence on his part, he stood the chance of being severely dealt with. He had contributed immensely to the discomfiture of the monarch by this unpardonable act of negligence on his part and the monarch would certainly have a right to claim his head for it. He therefore, laid great stress on what Shaista Khan had previously reported and in a mopish manner said, that the Raja was in his room all the while and that he and his guards were very vigilant and that they never lost sight of him night and day, and yet he had disappeared. He could not dare to escape when so many eyes were vigilantly watching him, except through the apertures or sky-lights. Among the persons suspected strongly for complicity in the escape of Shivaji were Trimbakpant Dabir, and the famous Raghunath Ballal Korde. They were arrested on Shravan Vadya 30th, i. e. 20th of August, 1666, Monday. They were detained and kept in custody till the third of April, 1667, Wednesday, 5th of Chaitra Vadya (dark half) Shak 1589, 18th of Sawal 1077 H. They were then released and allowed

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to go home. Hiroji Farjand the natural brother of Shivaji who personified him and occupied his bed to facilitate the latter's escape, was arrested by Phulad Khan on the 18th of August with the boy who was engaged in massaging him all through the night of the 17th and the morning of the 18th. On being produced before the Emperor, who was all furious with rage, Hiroji as the natural brother of Shivaji had to bear the brunt of the exhasperated monarch's close scrutiny. He said, he was asked to occupy his bed by Shivaji in the evening and then he went out, he did not know where. The boy who attended on him gave out the same thing. He was a Muhomedan youth. His name was Madari Mehtar and he was Farash (carpet cleaner). The Emperor appealed to him as a Mussalman and threatened him with death if he did not tell the truth. The boy stuck to his story. When the Emperor could not get anything out of these two faithful men, he admired their fidelity and devotion to their master and allowed them to go. They reached their country in safaty and the reward for their fidelity was really great. Besides being heavily rewarded with money and articles of jewellery, Hiroji was made the Havaldar (commandant) of the fort of Raigad, Shivaji's capital

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and Mehetar Madari the Farash was given a special privilege viz. the free gift of everything that was offered as an article of worship of the throne before the Monarch ascended it.[105] Madari Mehetar the Mohomedan servant of Shivaji deserved the gratitude of the nation and his master. He would have been heavily rewarded by Aurangzeb but he preferred to serve his master. His descendants still live in Satara.

The Emperor touched his forehead[106] in great sorrow and blamed his fate. It was an act of the grossest negligence on his part, said he, that he should not have used more vigilance in guarding the camp of Shivaji. He was not to be daunted though, by such happenings. He had mighty resources at his command, and ordered thousands of couriers to run in all directions to apprise his Foujdars and other big officials of districts and provinces of the escape of Shivaji and to make every possible effort to arrest the runaway prince and to produce him at court. He gave them to understand, that he was a great adept in the art of disguise, and that efforts should be made to challenge every Jangam, Jogi, Joshi, Sanyasi, Bairagee, Nanak Panthi, Gorakh Panthi, Kangal, and Pagal (mad man)

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and in fact every professional beggar or mendicant with a view to trace him and arrest him. He took every possible care of himself, doubled his guards with a view to avert any attempt on his person as he thought Shivaji could not have escaped through such a Bandobast but may have been lurking somewhere in Agra[107] with a view to wreck terrible vengeance on him. He became practically disconsolate over this mishap, and wrote very strongly to Jaising[109] to be on his guard and to try to effect the arrest of Shivaji as soon as he arrived in his dominion.

28. The whole country was soon apprised of the fact and every one wondered as to how the great man had given the slip so miraculously, when every possible Bandobast had been made, to secure him at Agra. Everyone ascribed his escape to divine intercession and prayed that he should reach his country in safety. No doubt the ingenuity with which the escape was planned and the greatest tact with which it was executed, evoked the admiration not only of those who admired him[109] and sympathised with him, but even of those who execrated and hated him as the opponent of the then greatest Mahomedan monarch in India. It was a bold plan boldly

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xeecuted and carried out to escape from the very jaws of death, and no wonder even to this day it evokes unstinted admiration from friends and foes alike of this great man.[110]

Mathura was reached after 6 hours journey late at night, after Shivaji's escape from Agra. It was the 12th night of the dark half of Shravan, Friday, (17 August, 1666.) when the river Yamuna (Jumna) was in high floods, and there was a heavy downpour of rain. Shivaji crossed the river withal and told the boat-man that he should report to the King, if asked, that he had done so. He however re-crossed the river at some other point and rode to Mathura with Sambhaji behind him. His pursuers naturally thought he must have proceeded southward and they thus scored the country far and wide in that direction. Shivaji had however anticipated this and thus took a northerly route and so he threw his would be pursuers on a wrong scent. In Mathura there was a complete metamorphosis of Shivaji. The great Raja of the Deccan, the terror of the wicked and the friend of the oppressed, looked no longer the Raja that he was; but the nearest and dearest of his friends could not have recognised him in the garb of a Gossain, so completely he had metamor-

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phosed himself. He removed all his hair on the head and the chin, besmeared his whole body with ashes and wore the ochre-coloured habiliments of the order of Gossains. He then mixed with other Gossains all looking like himself in their ochre-coloured garments and pushed on to Prayag (Allahabad). While at Mathura Niraji Raoji and Balaji Aoji Chitnis, sought out three Deccani Brahmans who were there and who happened to be related to the Peshwa, Moropant Pingle, of undying fame. The question is, as to why and how these three brothers viz. Krishnaji, Kashirao, and Visaji or Vishwanath should have been at Mathura, at that very time. Were they there on pilgrimage or were they particularly posted there in case there was a necessity of their services to their beloved prince? Had they been among the party of selected men on the staff of Shivaji, all along from his journey from Rajgad to Agra? Or were they there in the Math (Monastery) of Shri Ramdas as his disciples, purposely instructed to render any service to that great man, in case such was needed? To our mind a regular net work of tried and trusted men had been spread about Agra by all those great souls devoted to the cause of Shivaji and it was thus, that his escape was so cleverly facilitated and admir-

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ably effected and his sacred person protected all through his rovings in the garb of a Gossain from Agra to Rajgad. After these three brothers were found out they were produced before Shivaji who handed over his son Sambhaji to them with a large sum of money, telling them that they were in no case to part from him, and should take every possible care of him and after they received a letter from him in *his own hand-writing* (Shivaji knew how to read and write) from Rajgad, they were to start with him for the Deccan and deliver him safely there. And in case they obtained certain intelligence of his (Shivaji's) death they were to act as they deemed best. This shows that they were no strangers to him and what unbounded faith he had in them and succeeding events proved that they deserved the trust and were amply rewarded for it by Shivaji later on. To our mind the presence of these three near relatives of the Peshwa Moropant Pingle at Mathura at this very time was not a mere accident, in as much as in the then disturbed state of the country and for want of proper protection it was next to impossible to perform such a long journey from the Deccan to Mathura. And besides Mathura was not one of those three most holy places viz. Prayag (Allahbad) Kashi

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Benares) and Gaya, where pilgrims must go and are ordained to perform the sacred religious ceremonies which entitle them to obtain their desired object viz. their purification from sins. And hence the stay of these three brothers at Mathura and that too at a time when their beloved chief was a prisoner in the hands of Aurangzeb at Agra cannot be accounted for on purely religious grounds. While at Mathura Shivaji went to bathe in the river Yamuna (Jumna) and casually remarked to one of his men equally dressed as a gossain that none seemed to have taken any care of the bathing Ghats as they seemed to be in great disorder. He devised a plan for their repairs. A Choba (priest) was present and hearing these remarks from a gossain, expressed that he doubted whether the man who spoke so was a real gossain or a pseudo-gossain. A real gossain, said he, would never think of such mundane things and hence his surprise. A word in his ear by Niraji silenced him and he profusely apologised to Shivaji for his seemingly disrespectful behaviour. He was of course amply rewarded and was appointed as his family priest at Mathura.

29. The gossains who surrounded him and marched with him were his own trusted

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men. One of the three brothers, Krishnaji, who had travelled many times in Hindusthan and who knew the country intimately, volunteered to guide Shivaji safely back to the Deccan and he too naturally joined the party as a gossain [111] These pseudo-gossains would have laid down their precious lives for the sake of the man whom they adored like God. They would not have cared a straw for their own lives to rescue and protect his. Besides these, his path was apparently made easy by others who tramped the country round about to gather every possible information regarding the movements of the enemy. Khafi Khan says, that Shivaji had about 40 to 50 men as gossains with him. The valuable jewels and gold Mohurs and the huns (a small gold coin) they carried with them, were concealed in walking sticks which had been hollowed out for the purpose and were covered at the top with knobs. The hollow bamboos of the one stringed (Ektara) instrument to the tune of which gossains sing their Bhajans i. e. songs in praise of God, were also stuffed with precious stones. Some of the most valuable jewels were sewed up in old slippers. The party had hardly entered Benares and before any religious ceremony could be safely performed, when Government couriers brought

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the news of Shivaji's escape from Agra. The city was astir and agog with the news and as it was the chief centre of Hindu faith, every Hindu prayed to God Shiva for the long life of the man who had given Aurangzeb the slip and escaped from Agra so miraculously. Says, Prof. Sarkar, in his life of Shivaji, "at Benares he hurriedly went through all the rites of a pilgrim in the dim morning twilight, and stepped out of the town just as a courier arrived from Agra with proclamation for his arrest and a hue and cry was started." In this connection Khafi Khan says, "when I was at the port of Surat, a Brahman physician named Nabha used to tell the following tale :—"I had been serving one of the Benares Brahmans as his pupil, but he stinted me in food. At last, one morning when it was still dark, I went to the river-side as usual, a man seized my hand, thrust into it a quantity of jewels, ashraphis (Mohurs) and huns and said, "don't open your fist, but quickly finish the bathing rites for me." I immediately hastened to shave and bathe him, but had not done ministering to him, when a hue and cry was raised and the news spread that Sergeants of the Mace had arrived from court in search of Shivaji. When I became attentive, I found that the man to whom I had been ministering

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had slipped away. I then knew that it was Shivaji. He had given me 9 gems, 9 Ashraphis and 9 huns. Then without going to my preceptor, I returned to my country and reached Surat. The grand house that I have here, was bought with that money." The Shedgaonkar Bakhar says that while at Benares Shivaji did not forget to see Gaga Bhatta who hailed from Paithan in the Deccan and who had many times received bounties from him. This fact of Shivaji having called on Gaga is also borne out by Atmaram in his great work called, "Das Vishram Dham." Gaga is said to have helped Shivaji in reaching his country safely. Gaga Bhatta later on officiated as Chief Priest at the time of Shivaji's historic Coronation at Raigad.

30. From Benares the party pushed on to Patna and thence to Gaya. Here Shivaji was met by some of his trusted men who had already gone there ahead of him. Thence he started with his companions for Jagannath on the sea-shore of Orissa. Khafi Khan says that Shivaji would outstrip the greatest runner in walking, and thus he had had no difficulty in undertaking long and fatiguing journeys. At Cuttock[112] he had no change and as he had purchesed a small horse for

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riding, he opened his purse and gave some of the gold coins instead of silver to the dealer. The man in surprise said, that it was impossible for any man to pay so splendid a price for a small horse that he had sold to him, and it must be the great Shivaji who had just escaped from Agra from Mogul custody and who was known for his acts of generosity and magnanimity of heart. Shivaji to hush him, put the whole purse in his hand and fled from the place with his men in great haste.

At one place Foujdar Ali Kuli Khan arrested Shivaji's companions on suspicion as he had already received intimation of his escape from Agra. Shivaji taking the bull by the horn boldly went up to him in the night and told him that he was the man for whom the proclamation had been issued. Said he, "I have two gems, a diamond and a ruby of great value worth more than a lakh of rupees. If you secure me and send me back to Agra a prisoner, or if you cut off my head and forward that, the two priceless jeweles will be lost to you. Here am I and here is my head; but still keep off thine hands from wretched me in this dangerous strait." (Khafi Khan.) The Foujdar was moved and accepted the heavy bribe, released the gossains and

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allowed Shivaji to escape. This was certainly another lease of life to him, and then he betook to the jungles and unfrequented paths through Gondavan, Chanda, Deogad, and the Godavari districts.[113] He passed through the Hyderabad or Bhaganagar territory and while passing through Indur–a town in that territory, halted at a wayside place called Kodole[114] and begged for food from an old woman, the mother of the Patil (headman) of this place. The old woman lodged him and his fellow gossains in a cowshed and placed a poor fare before him and his companions, and bitterly complained that she had no better to offer to such holy persons. She bewailed her fate very bitterly all the while crying and cursing some marauders who professed to be Shivaji's men and whose names were Anandrao and Telang rao and who had only a day or two before taken away almost every thing, the house and the village contained. Shivaji was sorely grieved at heart to hear such a woeful tale from the woman who had done so much for him and his companions and never forgot to recompense her amply after his safe return to Rajgad. He was however glad to know that his men had already taken the offensive and were raiding in the Mogul territory immediately after his escape from Agra.[115]

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31. After hair-breadth escapes and thrilling adventures through the whole length and breadth of the country, Shivaji marched from Hyderabad through Bijapur territory to Gokarna Mahableshwar in the west and arrived at Rajgad, walking a distance of about 1500 miles[116] all the time through hills and dales and thick jungles, on Margashirsha Shuddha 5, Shak 1588 i.e. on 20th November, 1666, Tuesday. He went direct to his mother clothed as he was in the garb of a gossain with gerua coloured clothes and besmeared with ashes and prostrated himself before her. She, his own beloved mother, could not and did not recognise her own beloved son Shivaji, who was standing before her in the garb of a gossain.[117] One of his own companions Niraji Raoji said:—"Maiji (mother) he is your great son Shivaji." Her joy knew no bounds, the mother and the son met. All rushed to him to do their homage to him. The news spread like wild fire and every fort and castle gun, boomed out a hearty welcome to the great hero who had escaped as it were, from the very jaws of death. There was great rejoicing all over Maharashtra, and people hastened from all parts of the country to have Darshan of the great man, who had braved so many dangers and had passed through so many

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difficulties. He was absent from his country for full 9 months and during his absence every thing had been managed in such a way as if he himself had been present and had guided all his affairs in person. Not a man swerved from his path of duty, not a man turned traitor to his prince, every one did do his bit of work as if, nothing untoward had happened, and even his worst enemies admired the excellent manner in which his officers had managed the affairs during his absence from his country. This clearly shows how the great man had trained his men to administration, and Khafi Khan not a very sympathetic narrator of the history of Shivaji, was forced to admit that, "Shivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in the course of rebellion (from Khafi Khan's point of view) in plundering caravans and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Mahomedans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and any one who disobeyed them

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received severe punishment. He also made it a rule that his men should do no harm to the mosques, the Book of God (Al-Koran) or the woman of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands he treated it with respect and gave it to some of his Mussalman followers." [18]

All this was not lost on a people who were groaning under the tyranny of the Mahomedan rulers in one way or the other and there is no wonder why the day of the escape of Shivaji who had already established his fame and reputation as a "Liberator"[119] of his own people, should not have been hailed as a "DAY OF DILIVERANCE" by all the people in Maharashtra and also by all the persecuted[120] Hindus in the whole of India. He was till his incarceration at Agra, only known in the Deccan but after his incarceration he became an all India man with a univrsal reputation. "His own nation considered him an incarnation of the Divinity, setting an example of wisdom fortitude and piety. From an unknown petty chieftain he had become sovereign of a great portion of Western India, beside his possessions in the South. He had successfully braved the whole



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power of the Mogul Empire, and had taught his countrymen the secret of success in those sudden predatory movements which, from the first blow struck against the Mahomedan power in the destruction of Afzul Khan and the army of Bijapur were in a hundred years to effect the total subversion of their Empire." (A manual of History, by Col. Meadows Taylor, p. 347.) "No wonder, that later on he proved himself an irrepressible and unconquerable antagonist of the Great Mogul, a heroic Champion of Mahratta independence and an unrivalled master of guerrilla and predatory warfare. No wonder also, that his name is still "THE PILLAR OF A PEOPLE'S HOPE, THE CENTRE OF A WORLD'S DESIRE," for, great as he was in his achievements, he was immeasurably greater in the possibilities, which his brief career of 52 years suggested." (*Prof. Sir J. Sarkar.*)

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**" A meteor wert thou, in a darksome night,**
**Yet shall thy name, conspicuous and sublime,**
**Stand in the spacious firmament of time,**
**Fixed as a star: such glory is thy right."**

*Wordsworth.*

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# NOTES

Page 2.—[1] To conquer the Deccan was another phase for risking the loss of Hindustan; for he who invaded the southern people who dwelt between the Ghats, was in danger of teaching them the road to the north. —Lane Pool's Life of Aurangzeb, p. 143.

The objects of the war were two: to extend the limits of the Empire by the subversion of the two remaining monarchies, Bijapur and Golconda, and the annexation of their dominions; and to suppress the Mahratta polity, and predatory power. The achievement of the one object would but increase the difficulties, otherwise great enough and to spare, of accomplishing the other. But in this, as in other cases, Aurangzeb, obstinate by nature, unteachable by experience and blinded by the passions, on the one hand of ambition, on the other of vindictiveness, addressed himself to this double enterprise as unwisely as Charles the Bold went to war with the Swiss, and with not dissimilar results.—The Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owən, p. 187.

As to the Mahrattas, Aurengzeb not only affected but, really felt, inspite of Shivaji's exploits, supremn contempt for them. In his eyes they were merely a barbarous community of active, adroit, and greedy brigands who had been formidable to society so long as they were animated and managed by a man of such exceptional ability as Shivaji. But he was totally unable to appreciate their higher moral characterestics; the resolute passion for national independence which their leader had kindled in their bosoms; their abhorrence of his new version of the obligations of a Mahomedan

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Sovereign towards men of their own religion; their intense devotion to the memory, the example, and the institutions of their heroic and indomitable chief; and the confidence which he had imparted to them that the Imperial power, so far from being irresistible, was extremely vulnerable, and if persistently assailed, on his method, might be brought low in the end.—The Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, pp. 89-90.

Aurangzeb stirred the people of Maharashtra to their utmost depth, and it was the hard discipline of the 24 years' 'War of Maratha Independence', which cemented the national and patriotic instincts of their leaders, and during the next three generations carried them as conquerors to the farthest part of India. *Mere free-booters and plunderers never could have obtained success in such a war against such a foe.* It was a higher moral force which brought out all the virtues of the best men of the nation—daring heroism, noble endurance, administrative skill, hope, which rose higher with every disappointment, a faith, which was never shaken, devotion to a high ideal, which was independent of time, place or person, a sense of brother-hood in common danger, a spirit of complete self-sacrifice and mutual concession for the common good, a trust in the final success of their cause, because it was the cause of their religion. These were the virtues, which the great Shivaji could see and encourage in his people and which eventually enabled them, when he was no longer with them, to accomplish the deliverance of their country from a danger, which no other race in India (except the Rajput in the beginning) had been able to withstand. It is as a school for the teachings of these virtues and as a severe but a salutary discipline, that the 'War of Independence' in

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Maharashtra, will ever be regarded as constituting the most eventful period of the Maratha History.—Rise of the Maratha Power by Justice Ranade, pp. 194-95.

Aurangzeb in undertaking to wage a war against the Maharattas in the Deccan, virtually signed the death warrant of his Empire.—Fall of the Mogul Fmpire by S. J. Owen, p. 125.

Page 2.—[2] History of India as told by her own Historians.—Elliott and Dowson, Vol. VII, p. 273.

Page 2.—[3] Maharashtra is estimated to extend over upwards of 100,000 square miles. Its great determining physical feature is the steep and lofty range of the Western Ghats i. e. Sahyadri-mountains, which extend far beyond its southern limits, and give occasion to a three-fold geographical division into the Concan, or the country between the mountains and the sea; the Ghatmatha, or the mountain region itself, often very wide, and the Desh or the table land eastward of the Sahyadri chain. The whole of Maharashtra is more or less hilly. The Ghats proper rise far above the table land and are surmounted by majestic and precipitous masses of rock, which form natural fortresses of imposing appearance of vast size and very difficult access, especially when these original advantages are improved by the appliances even of rude native art. Long lateral spurs and detached blocks of similar dimensions penetrate far into the eastern upland, and enclosing deep and well watered valleys, give an average of more than twenty miles in breadth to the Ghatmatha. —India on the Eve of British Conquest by S. J. Owen, pp. 97-98.

Page 2.—[4] The permanent acquisition made was thus not so much of territory and treasure as the higher acquisition of self-confidence and union among the Maratha

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leaders, the spirit which taught the Maratha race that it was possible to resist successfully the in-roads of Mahomedan powers. It was this spirit which proved the salvation of the country during the 24 years that Aurangzeb spent in the conquest of the Deccan, from 1683 A. D. to 1707 A D. If it had not been for the schooling and discipline which the leaders of the nation, civil and military, had obtained during the successful wars waged by Shivaji against his enemies, no such result would have been possible. These men so brought up and disciplined, inspired the nation with a new hope and a new courage which helped them to feel unabated confidence in their powers of resistance and in the ultimate success of their efforts to turn back the tide which threatened to overwhelm them.-Justice Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 79-80.

The territory and treasure, however, which Shivaji acquired were not so formidable to the Mahomedans as the example he had set, the system and habits he introduced and the spirit he had infused into a large proportion of the Mahratta people.—Grant Duff's History of the Mahratta People, Vol. I, p. 300.

Page 2.—[5] Shivaji's versatile genius, amazing energy, sleepless vigilance, and lively sympathy with his followers had given him a commanding ascendancy over them, had enabled him to maintain strict discipline in his army, an admirable organisation of his fort system, and appropriate regulations for the conduct of his civil government—in short, to transmute a band of brigands into an effective and formidable antagonist of the Imperial power.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 93.

Shivaji at eighteen was a man tireless, fearless and deeply devout. He, as the son of the former regent of Ahmednagar, as the grandson of Lakhoji Jadhaorao (the

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descendant of the Royal line of the Yadavas of Deogiri), as also a grandson of Vangoji Naik Nimbalkar, a formidable Mahratta Chieftain holding a position of trust under the Adilshahi Kings of Bijapur and one holding the important Jahgir of Phaltan, was thus one of the natural leaders of the Mahratta people. He as the son of Shahaji, would no doubt have received a high post in the Mogul army or in the army of Bijapur. There his natural gifts would certainly have won him most honourable distinction. But to adopt this course would have been to desert his country and to stand by, while Aurangzeb's or Bijapur's armies enslaved the Indian peoples and insulted their religion from the Bhima to Rameshvaram. There was yet another course open to the young noble and that was to attempt the liberation of the Mahratta race. It was a well nigh hopeless task. After three centuries of slavery, the wish for freedom was all but dead, and lived, if at all, in a few hill tracts in the Maval and Konkan. He could expect no aid from other Mahratta nobles. Without resources or any help, he must raise an army. He must inspire it by his own words and acts with high ideals. He must fight against his own relatives and countrymen. He must incur charges of treason and charges of unfilial conduct. In the end, he would most likely see his hopes shattered, his friends butchered and himself condemned to a cruel and a lingering death. Yet this was the course which Shivaji resolved to adopt. He did so not with the rash presumption of youth, but after deep and deliberate thought, after long discussion with the friends of his boyhood; with his guide and master Dadoji Kondadev (Rajahansa of Malthan) and with his mother (the great) Jijabai. Having once adopted it, he never swerved from it until his work was done.—History of the Mahratta People by Kinkaid and Parasnis Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

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Shivaji was born with a genius for sovereignty. He was endowed with that mysterious instinct which enables some ignorant barbarian to convert shepherds or cultivators into soldiers, and drill them into submission and obedience. He succeeded in forming the mountaineers of the Konkan into loose but organised armies of horsemen, levying plunder and blackmail on a regular system, devastating the plains during the dry season, but returning at the beginning of the rains to their natural fortresses in the hills.--A Short History of India by J. Talboys Wheeler, p. 166.

There was such a charm about Shivaji's personality that even those who were his enemies and whom he had conquered in the battle-field, became his trusted followers. The Brahmans, the Prabhus and Mawli leaders, were the chief sources of Shivaji's strength in his earlier years.--Rise of the Maratha Power by Justice Ranade, pp .67.68.

Page 3.—6 Aurangzeb could not suppress the emotions of his joy on hearing of Shivaji's death, nor the justice due to his character which he had denied to him during his life. "He was", said he", a great captain and the only one who has had the magnanimity to raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endeavouring to destroy the ancient Sovereignties of India, my armies have been emlpoyed against him for 19 years, and nevertheless his state has always been increasing.--Orme's Historical Fragments, pp. 90-93.

Aurangzeb hated Shivaji as an infidel dog and denounced him as an arch rebel and past master in the art of plundering, but he was not insensible to his military skill and formidable capacity as the creator and organiser of an anti-imperial power.--Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 59.

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Page 3.—7 The Hindoos had special and more personal reasons of estrangement from the new Emperor Aurangzeb. The attitude he had assumed, and the pretence which had been alleged for the execution of Dara, obviously indicated a new and to them unfriendly departure in Imperial policy. Whether Aurangzeb was, or was not, sincere in hoisting the banner of the Crescent against his eldest brother, and justifying his exclusion from the succession and his execution, on the ground of his sympathy with the Hindoo religion (as one historian distinctly states) the Hindoos must have felt that such a war-cry followed by a capital condemnation in the same sense, was an appeal to the hitherto discountenanced but lurking spirit of Mussalman fanaticism and political exclusiveness, and boded no good to them, under the dominion of him who had, on the strength of it, won his way to the throne.

Such a conviction must have made them rebels in their hearts from the first, though the smouldering fire of disaffection was for the time suppressed.—Fall of the Mogu Empire by S. J. Owen, pp. 44-46.

Shivaji well knew the character of his countrymen and had carefully used that knowledge in laying down rules for their government. The Brahmanical creed could not be used as a weapon of persecution but its mingled tolerance and exclusiveness, made it a powerful instrument for concentrating the religious feelings of the Hindoos, and directing their full force against the cruel and bigotted oppression commanded by the Koran and practised by Aurangzeb. It is not wonderful that the memory of the man, whose well digested plans "raised the despised Hindoos to Sovereignty, and brought about their own accomplishment when the hand that framed

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them was low in dust", should be gratefully remembered by his countrymen.—Martin's History of India, p. 148.

In Miskat, is preserved also the customary sermon which the Prophet used to deliver to the commanders of expeditions sent against unbelievers. It leaves three alternatives to the enemies. The Muslim invader is first to invite them to Islam. In case the latter yield, they become a friendly community. A second recourse open to them is to pay *Jaziya* or Capitation tax, and become a feudatory state. The third and this is the last step, the two former failing, is to wage war with them.—Vedic Magazine for July 1928, p. 4.

Like Albuquerke, but with better reason, he (Shivaji) posed as the protector of the Hindus against the Mussalmans whom he really hated with a righteous hatred; and his policy and his superstitious piety alike recommended him to the people, and, inspite of his heavy blackmail secured their adhesion.—Lane Pool's Aurangzeb, Chap. X, p. 156.

Aurangzeb and Shivaji displayed in many points a very marked similarity of character. both were energetic, crafty and ambitious and both stern bigots of their separate creeds Aurangzeb did all that Mahomed himself could have desired to extend the Moslem creed, whilst Shivaji styling himself "Champion of the Gods", made it his special boast to protect "Bramins, kine, and cultivators" and to preserve from all insult, Hindoo temples.—Conquerors, Warriors and Statesmen of India, by Sir E. Sullivan p. 396.

Shivaji never deviated from the stricter observance of the Hindoo religion and affected the deepest reverence to his Brahmins, undertaking no expedition without their auspices; and was as punctual in his private

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devotions as assiduous in the ceremonies of public worship, it should seem from conviction; but whether so or no, his practice gained the public respect: and as he delighted on every occasion of throwing defiance against Aurangzeb, he frequently styled himself, in his correspondence and manifestoes, the "Champion of the Hindoo Gods", against the sanguinary violater of their temples; which with his own example, sharpened the antipathy of his troops against the Moguls, whom they deemed it religious retaliation to destroy. His private life was simple, even to parsimony; his manners void of insolence or ostentation; as a soveriegn he was humane and solicitous for the well being of his people as soon as he was assured of their obedience; for, he gathered them as we have seen by degrees.—Orme's Historical Fragments, pp. 60-91.

Shivaji's idea seems to have been to form a central Hindoo power in the Deccan, and in alliance with the Bijapur and Golconda kings to push back the Mogul power to the north of the Tapti river. This is the clue to the whole situation. Self defence and the formation of a national Hindoo Power in western India, which in alliance with the Mahomedan states of Bijapur and Golconda, would repel aggression from the north and enforce protection and toleration for his own countrymen—these were the objects and limits of his ambition. —Rise of the Maratha Power by Justice Ranade, p. 89.

Shivaji was a man whose strength lay in his realising in his person the best aspirations of the age and race to which he belonged.—Rise of the Maratha Power by Justice Ranade, p. 47.

Col. Wilkes in his "History of Mysore" speaks of a prophecy which he found recorded in a Hindoo

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manuscript of 1646 A. D. in the Mackenzie collection, in which the prophet, after describing "the ruin of all virtue and religion and the humiliation which the noblest in the land had been made to suffer" concludes with a hope that "the time for deliverance will come at last, and the virgins will announce it with songs of joy and the skies will shower their flowers". This prophesy was written in Southern India at a time when Shivaji's name was not known beyond his Jahagir in Poona, but Col Wilkes testifies that the application of it was by universal agreement made to deliverance, which Raja Shivaji was the instrument of effecting, by his genius and his arms before the century had far advanced.—Rise of the Maratha, Power by Justice Ranade, pp. 45.46.

Page 3.—[8] Religious fervour, almost at white heat, bordering on the verge of self abnegation, a daring and adventurous spirit born of a confidence that a higher power than man's protected him and his work, the magnetism of superior genius which binds men together and leads them to victory, a rare insight into the real needs of the times and a steadfastness of purpose, which no adverse turn of fortune could conquer, a readiness and resourcefulness rarely met with either in European or Indian history, true patriotism which was far in advance of the times and a sense of justice tempered with mercy—these were the sources of the strength, that enabled Shivaji to sow the seeds of a power which accomplished in the hands of his successors all that he had planned out and enabled his race to write a chapter in Indian history to some purpose.—Rise of the Maratha Power by Justice Ranade pp. 57-59.

Page 4.—[9] The cleverness, astuteness, energy and business capacity of Aurangzeb are undoubted and yet his

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long reign was a disastrous failure. The Emperor himself knew better when in his old age, he wrote to his son Azam, the pathetic words, "I have not done well by the country or its people. My years have gone by profitless." —Lane Pool's Life of Aurangzeb, p. 203.

Page 4.—[10] But, great organizer and military genius that Shivaji was, it is in far seeing statesmanship that he stands supreme. In all history there is no such example of modesty in the face of continued success. The insolent, overwhelming vanity which has proved the ruin of so many commanders both in ancient and modern times, found no place in Shivaji's admirably balanced mind. He won victory after victory against Bijapur and the Moguls, yet his head was never turned. He realized always that he had to meet the full power of the Mogul Empire. His one aim was to secure the freedom of his countrymen. That he might do so, he sought to win the friendship of Aurangzeb. When that proved impossible, he resolved to secure a place of shelter against the coming peril, which he so cleverly foresaw. At last there came a time when his genius bore fruit. Four years after Shivaji's death, the Emperor realized that the Marathas were a serious danger. He ceased to send a succession of small armies to Aurangabad. He mobilized the whole military resources of northern India and an army of several hundred thousand strong, led by the Emperor in person, poured through the Vindya passes to the conquest of the south. Within three years both Golconda and Bijapur had fallen. Within five years all Maharashtra was over-run. Sambhaji had been taken and executed. Shahu and his mother were prisoners in Aurangzeb's camp. But the Maratha generals, headed by Raja Ràm, adhered to the strategy laid down by the great king Shivaji. Falling behind the

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southern line of fortresses, built by Shivaji from Bednur to Tanjor, they held the south against the might of all Hindusthan. At length the great offensive weakened. The Maratha captains in their turn began to attack. Slowly but surely they drove the Delhi forces back again across the frontier of the old Imperial possessions. At last Aurangzeb, his treasury empty, his grand army destroyed, died a broken man in his camp at Ahmednagar. Maharashtra was free. Southern India was safe. The single wisdom of the great king Shivaji, dead twenty seven years before, had supplied the place of two hundred battalions.—History of the Mahratta People by Kincaid and Parasnis, pp. 275-276.

Page 4.—[11] It is undeniable he (Shivaji) hath taken and maintains against the Moguls sixty odd strongholds; but the cause is, the Moguls are unacquainted with and their bodies unfit for such barren and uneasy places; so that they rather chuse to desert than to defend them; whereby it is sufficiently evident Sevaji is unable in the plain to do anything but rob, spoil, and return with all the speed imaginable; and on that account it is, Aurangzeb calls him his 'Mountain Rat', with which the greatest system of monarchy in the world, though continued by an uninterrupted descent to Imperial ancestry, have ever been infested, finding it more hard to fight with mountains than men. Thus it falls out here, by the like chance as most conquests that though the major part have submitted to their victorious arms, yet some, out of confidence in their strength, reputation, fortitude, have been so daring as to oppose by open violenee, secret stratagem, the acquired trophies of the triumphing party; as the Appenegeni did the Romans, and the wild people about Taurus and Caucasus the Grecians; the Welsh, the

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English, the Highlanders, the Switz: and as many as have been encouraged there to by the inaccessibleness of their fortresses, or the discontent of some great ones to head them. From whence, though inconsiderable in themselves, it is, that they presume to boast of their never being totally subdued.—Dr. John Fryer's Account of India—the Deccan pp. 408-409.

Page 5.—[12] These (Marathas) were the people, looking apparently inconsiderable, that were destined by Providence to overturn the Empire, Aurangzeb was labouring to extend; who, issuing from their mountains and valleys, did in less than a century, level to its base the whole fabric of Mahomedan greatness; and created for themselves an Independent Government on the ruins of an Empire of seven hundred years' duration; perhaps such a sudden accession of dominion from so obscure an origin, is with-out a parallel in the annals of mankind.—Commaander Tone's letter to Sir John Malcon 1796, p. 21.

Though the Marathas had never appeared in History as a nation, they had as strongly marked a character as if they had always formed a united common-wealth. Though more like to the lower orders in Hindusthan than to their southern neighbours in Canara and Telingan, they could never for a moment be confounded with either. They are all small, sturdy men, well made though not handsome. They are all active, laborious, hardy and persevering. If they have none of the pride, and dignity of the Rajputs, they have none of their indolence or their want of wordly wisdom. A Rajput warrior as long as he does not dishonour his race, seems almost indifferent to the result of any contest he is engaged in. A Maratha thinks of nothing but the result, and cares little for the means if he can attain his object. For this

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purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasure and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his interest, for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations. There is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajput; and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Maratha. The Rajput is the most worthy antagonist, the Maratha the most formidable enemy; for, he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are indispensible, and will always support them or supply their place, by stratagem, activity, and perseverence.—History of India, by M. S. Elphistone, p. 601, XI. 1.

Shivaji knew better how to meet a powerful army in the field; he understood the precise point where courage must give place to cunning, and in dealing with a Muslim foe he had no scruples of honour(?).—Lane Pool's Aurangzeb, Chap. X. p. 157.

The vulgar Maratha, nevertheless, gave more, troubles to the rulers of Hindoosthan, whether Mogul or English, than even the proud dynasties of the Rajputs. —Lane Pool's Aurangzeb, Chap. IX p. 154.

Page 5.—[13] The land (Deccan) bristles with hundreds of mountains from 2000 to 5000 feet in height, with steep scarps of volcanic trap crowned with forts and bastions, with almost every one of which is indelibly associated the name of Shivaji. This mountainous region seems to bid defiance to the foot of man and horse. Says Khafikhan, The country around Raigarh may be considered a specimen of hell, for, it is hilly and stony, and water is very scarce.—Bombay and Western India by J. Douglas, Vol. I. p. 333.

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Here we see nature exhibiting a Castellane appearance upon every eminence. A stronghold upon every hill as if inviting the inhabitants to depend upon themselves instead of upon the sovereign's support and encouraging in each petty chieftain, that spirit of independance, which is so striking a characterestic of the natives of the southern Maratha country.—Graham's Kolhapur, p. 8.

In a military point of view there is probably no stronger country in the world than Maharashtra.

Grant Duff.

The broken and contorted land, writhing from the rugged and indented sea-margin, shoots aloft in steep and terrific cliffs and craggy summits, whose beauty and majesty must be seen to be understood. Magnificent forests clothe these elevations, and spread far down into the wild country below, and extend their mysterious and treacherous shade for many a mile along the table land above. Impetuous torrents leap from the mountain sides, rive in their headlong career seaward, the uneven and craggy surface of the coastland; and the hollow nullas of the dry season are, on the approach of rain, transformed in a few hours into deep furious, and impassable cataracts. The thunder storms of these regions are terrific; the deluge of rain, violent, copious, and frequent, beyond all comparison elsewhere in India. Roads through out the greater part of the country there are none; the character of the ground and the luxuriance of the forest jungles alike preclude them.—India on the Eve of British Conquest by S. J. Owen, p. 22.

Dr. Fryer has also given a vivid account of his ascent of the Ghats in his New account of India (1698) letter III chapter IV.

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The whole of the Ghats and neighbouring mountains often terminate towards the top in a wall of smooth rock, the heighest points of which, as well as detached portions on insulated hills, form natural fortresses, where the only labour required is to get access to the level space, which generally lies on the summit. Various princes at different times have profited by these positions. They have cut flights of steps or winding roads up the rocks, fortified the entrance with a succession of gateways, and erected towers to command the approaches; and thus studded the whole of the region about the Ghats and their branches with forts, which, but for frequent experience, would be deemed impregnable. —History of India, by M. S. Elphinstone (5th Ed. 1866), p. 603.

Page 5.—[14] Shivaji the "Mountain rat" is dead; but there are other Shivajis burrowing away at the foundation of Alamgir's Empire. Other men are already born who are to trample on the ruins of the Mogul Empire. "The little one shall become a thousand and the small one a strong nation."—Bombay and Western India, by J. Douglas. Vol. I, p. 357.

Page 5.—[15] From a state of rustic obscurity, and rigorous vassalege, the Marathas, within the last century have become a mighty power; and in that period, precipitaed and completed the ruin of the Mogul Empire which had commenced in its own vices.

Shivaji waged such an incessant war against the Moguls that Aurangzeb, although next to Akbar, the most warlike and vigorous of their Emperors, was baffled and distressed by the innumerable and indefatigable invaders who like the barbarians on the Roman Empire, poured down from their mountains, and devastated his fairest provinces.—Forbes' Oriental Memoirs Vol. 1, p. 461.

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The Marathas are hardy, and active and well-proportioned with dark skins and irregular features. They are sturdy men, rude, rough, boorish and illiterate, but patient under labour. They are good soldiers capable of endurance, much of their tactics having resembled that of the Parthians.—The Cyclopædia of India, Vol. III, p. 55-m.

From behind the screen of their hills, through the gates of their yawning and sinuous passes, from the vantage ground of their commanding plateau, working (as a soldier would say) on the interior lines of their central position the fierce and crafty Mawalees of the Sahyadri inspire in the Moguls at their feet a mysterious dread, watch and anticipate the movements of their antagonist, conceal their own operations till the time arrives for delivering the swift and terrible blow, elude pursuit in their lofty fastness, cross and recross the peninsula, dealing their strokes alternately to right and left against dissevered armies, too scanty to co-operate along so extended a line of frontier.—India on the Eve of British Conquest by S. J. Owen, p. 16.

In his military organisation Shivaji aimed at efficiency. Vastly inferior to his enemies in numerical strength he tried to compensate by quality the lack of quantity. He therefore tried to enforce strict discipline in his army and appealed not only to the military instinct but also to the patriotism of his soldiers. His earliest adherents were the Mawalees, a race of hardy hill men, who came into prominence under Shivaji's leadership and have since then declined to their original obscurity. Shivaji depended mainly on these hillmen and the hills. The hills constituted an excellent defence, while the hillmen accompanied him in all his bold excursions and perilous raids. The ill clad and ill fed hillmen of Mawal were



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trained into an excellent infantry by the great Maratha Captain, and he fortified the bare rocks and mountain passes to bar the enemy's progress through his country. Regular fortification barred the open approaches, every pass was commanded by forts, every steep and over hanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom and impeded the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. Shivaji's hill forts, impregnable by nature, did not require a strong garrison. Five hundred was the normal strength, but in some exceptional cases a stronger force was allowed.—Administrative System of the Marathas by Dr. S. Sen, pp. 107-108.

The importance of geographical circumstances in war, and the extreme difficulty of reducing a mountain community under an able leader, were even more strikingly exhibited in the case of the Marathas. "The sublime country of the Westsrn Ghats, with its deep recesses, its unbrageous woods, its steep fastnesses, and the rugged and inpracticable Concan at its base furnished Shivaji with a secure and inaccessible retreat from pursuit, and a constant repository for his spoil; as well as with a race of hardy clansmen on whose fidelity he could implicitely rely, for among them he had been bred, and with their aid had performed his earliest feats.—India on the Eve of British Conquest by S. J. Owen, p. 14.

What Holland was to the Dutch against Philip II—that were the Ghats and the Concan to the Marathas against Aurangzeb.—India on the Eve of British Conquest by S. J, Owen, p. 14.

Page 5.—[16] That end, the complete collapse of Aurangzeb's design of conquering the Marathas, is vividly illustrated in a remarkable passage of Khafi Khan. "By

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hard fighting, by the expenditure of the vast treasures accumulated by Shah Jehan, and by the sacrifice of many thousands of men, he (Aurangzeb) had penetrated into their (Marathas') wretched country, and subdued their lofty forts, and had driven them from house and home; still the daring of the Marathas increased, and they penetrated into the old territories of the Imperial throne, plundering and destroying wherever they went." For it discloses unmistakably the irresistible progress of the insidious and mighty tide of Hindoo reaction, the practical subversion of the Imperial authority, and the establishment, within the territory of the Empire, of a Maratha dominion, crude, barbarous, and grasping, but the natural consequence, and in logical language the inseparable accident, of the struggle which had initiated it, and which was destined to exhibit a terrible vitality and expensive power in the near future. The passage quoted above with a little abridgment shows a luminous picture of a great historical catastrophe, and as indisputable evidence that that catastrophe was the outcome of Aurangzeb's impolicy, encountered and baffled by the creative and stimulating genius of his originally despised antagonist—"the mountain rat", as Aurangzeb had contemptuously called him.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, pp. 120-121.

Shivaji and his followers not only vindicated their independence, but struck a second mortal blow at the integrity of the Empire. They destroyed its military reputation. They exhausted its accumulated treasure. They spread disorder and devastation over the Deccan and beyond it. They loosened the ties of allegiance and led multitudes of the doubly oppressed people to join them. They asserted a claim by way of blackmail to a quarter of the Imperial revenue, and exacted it by

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planting their own chief officers, collectors and troops in the Imperial provinces and levying this tribute at the point of the lance, thus establishing an *Imperium in imperio*. Thus the Empire, though not dissolved, was hopelessly debilitated. How desparate was this situation may be inferred from the fact that Aurangzeb's son and successor, Bahadur Shah, in vain sought to arrest the further progress of the Marathas by sanctioning this masterful pretension to divided sovereignty in the Deccan provinces.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, preface, VI.

But never was a great revolution begun more quietly and unostentatiously. A movement, which was to pervade and convulse all India, took its rise like one of the Deccan rivers (so to speak) in a corner, and in the bosom of the hills.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 57.

The Marathas never risked an engagement in the open field unless their numbers made victory a certainty. When the heavy Mogul cavalry attacked them, the hardy little warriors, mounted on wiry steeds as inured to fatigue as themselves, and splendidly broken in for their tactics, would instantly scatter in all directions, and observe the enemy from a neighbouring hill or wood, ready to cut off solitary horsemen, or surprise small parties in ambush; and then, if the pursuers gave up the useless chase, in a moment the Marathas were upon them, hanging on their flanks, despatching stragglers, and firing at close quarters into the unwieldly mass. To fight such people was to do battle with air or to strike blows upon water; like wind or waves they scattered and bent before the blow only to close in again the moment the pressure was taken off. They would dash down from their mountain retreats and intercept a rich convoy of

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treasure; and before the Moguls could get near them, they were back in their rocky forts. Even if pursued to their layer and smoked out, so to speak, they only went to some equally convenient and almost inaccessible stronghold to resume their usual trade of plunder, in which they took unfeigned delight. Each man fought and trapped and pillaged in the same common cause—the national war against Muhammadan alience—and their separate efforts produced a sufficiently alarming collective result. They were consequently popular enough with the country-folk, who regarded them as national heroes and their defenders against the inroads of the infidels and were always eager to keep them informed of the movements of the enemy and to warn them of any approaching danger.—Lane Pool's Aurangzeb, pp. 173-74.

The decline of nearly every nation in history has been precipitated by the insensate prosecution of some conquest which nature or destiny appears to have forbidden. What the invasion of Rome was to Carthage, of Greece to Darius, of China to Genghish Khan and Timur, and the plains of Italy to Francis the First, and of Russia to Napoleon, that was the conquest of the Deccan to the Mogul dynasty of Hindosthan. It was the *ignis fatuus* of their fortunes, whose deceptive brilliancy lured them to repeated destruction; the treasure they wasted and the armies they sacrificed, together with the constant absence of the chief power from the capital of Hindosthan were not the least important causes of their down fall.—Conquerors, Warriors, and Statesmen of Indian by Sir E. Sullivan, p. 367.

Aurangzeb was the evil genius; and he and Shivaji, the joint underminers of the Mogul Empire.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 126.

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Aurangzeb despised and vilipended the Hindoos as an inferior and conquered race, who, by Akbar's innovating policy had been allowed to usurp a position of political and social epuality with their natural masters, which was equally inappropriate and undesirable. He was inclined to reverse the policy of his ancestors; and not only to regard, but to treat the Hindoos as an inferior race. To brand them with the old stamp of subjectian—the Jizia which Akbar had abolished and thus prepared the way for their depression in the social scale, the sapping of their political influence and their eventual reduction to the status of a subject population, dominated by the priveleged class, on whose rightful ascendency they had been allowed to encroach. The events in the Deccan had greatly inflamed Aurangzeb's animosity against them, and inclined him to avenge himself upon them for the successful uprising of the despised race in the south, and the challenge of his authority, as the representative of foreign and Mahomedan sway, by the foundation of a Hindoo anti-polity. The crushed worm had turned, and had been transformed into a mordant viper. Shivaji had successfully resisted Aurangzeb's generals in the field; had outwitted him and ravaged the Imperial provinces with impunity.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 53.

Though Shivaji respected mosques, copies of the Koran and women, his conduct was a direct and bold challenge to the Emperor's authority in the Deccan, and he now prepared to assert it, and accomplish what Bijapur had failed to do. But little did the proud and powerful Sovereign anticipate that he was thus pledging himself to a life long and fruitless enterprise, and signing, in effect, the death warrant of the Empire!—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 61.

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Napoleon, the Great, used to say. "It was the Spanish ulcer which ruined me." Deccan ulcer ruined Aurangzeb. —Studies in Mogul India by Prof. J. Sarkar, p. 51.

Page 7.—17 And Shivaji a mere Jahagirdar's son, and grandson of a tiller of the soil, his arm and brain had made him a 'Chhatrapati'. He had risen to power and dignity and created a kingdom for himself out of nothing. And this too in the face of opposition from powerful enemies, the Bijapuris in the east, the Moguls in the north and the Abyssinians in the West. At last he had grown so great that his protection was sought by European traders and Indian chiefs, his alliance was bought by Bijapur and Golconda and wistfully desired by the Moghal Viceroy of the Deccan and his hostility dreaded even by the "King of kings", who sat on the Peacock Throne of Delhi.

And he had so used his power that his name had become a byword for a wise, virtuous and benevolent ruler, one who revived the tradition of Ramchandra. Religion—Hinduism and Islam alike—found its special protector in him, for in his heart there was a perennial fountain of piety which influenced all his daily acts. He sat on the throne, but looked upon himself as a mere agent or steward of the true King, his Master. For, one day he had formally made over his kingdom to the Saint Ramdas and had then been commissioned by him to administer it as his vicar or representative. This Royal power meant for him not the indulgence of personal caprice, the gratification of the lusts of the flesh, nor even the enjoyment of the world's pomp and reverence, but stern duty, austere self-control, a calling of himself to account. In all that he did, he felt himself 'as ever in his great Task-Master's eye'. He had created a powerful

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kingdom, the beginning of an Empire. More than that he had created a nation out of scattered and jarring elements at a period when none else dreamt of it. He had raised his tribe out of the dust. His magic touch called forth all that was great in them and inspired them with a heroism and self-confidence which ensured their success, till after a century and a half, the sceptre dropped from their grasp. No wonder that they should still cherish his memory as their richest historical legacy.—Prof. J. Sarkar's Jaising and Shivaji in Modern Review for July 1907.

Though the son of a powerful chief, he had begun life as a daring and art-ful captain of banditti, had ripened into a skilful general and an able statesman, and left a character which has never since been equalled or approached by any of his country men. The distracted state of the neighbouring countries presented openings by which an inferior leader might have profited; but it required a genius like his to avail himself as he did of the mistakes of Aurangzeb, by kindling a zeal for religion, and, through that, a national spirit among the Marathas. It was by these feelings that his government was upheld after it had passed into feeble hands, and was kept together, in spite of numerous internal disorders, until it had established its supremacy over the greater part of India. Though a predatory war, such as he conducted must necessarily inflict extensive misery, his enemies bear witness to his anxiety to mitigate the evils of it by humane regulations, which were strictly enforced. His devotion latterly degenerated into extravagances of superstition, and austerity, but seems never to have obscured his talents or soured his temper.—Elphinstone's History of India, 5th Ed. 1874, p. 647.

Shivaji began to renew his old raids, with a steadiness of purpose heightened by religious zeal and a bold-

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ness all the more successful for the tiger-like cunning that knew how and when to give it free play. A true Maratha in that wily daring and unscrupulous pursuit of a given end, which marked off his Sudra countrymen from the high souled thorough bred Rajputs of the north, he had long since gathered, alike from the folklore of his native hills and the religious surroundings of his boyhood, abundent fuel for his ambition and all needful sanction for his most unscrupulous deeds. Patriotism and piety alike impelled him on that path of conquest which was to end in the last great struggle for Empire between the Msrathas and the country men of Lord Wellesley. —Trotter's History of India, p. 138.

To reduce chaos to order in a turbulent age, has been pronounced the great stateman's (Shivaji's) proper function. But Shivaji at first sight, appears to have done more than this. He compelled chaotic and explosive forces to do prescribed task work; to operate with full intensity, but only in obedience to his will and in the direction that suited his purpose. He opened the flood gates of anarchy and let in the full tide of cupidity and military license. Yet he was not overwhelmed, or even embarrassed by it; but calmly devoted this self-seeking and devouring force to the evolution of a new political order, and the secure vindication of regulated liberty. He fanned the glowing flame of ambition, alike in his soldiers and in their leaders. Yet he seemed never even in danger of being consumed by it or of forfeiting the ascendancy which he had grasped so cunningly and unscrupulously. Lawlessness was his very *raison d'etre*, and that of his community; he was a strict legislator; and his laws were rarely infringed, and never with impunitv. In short, he was at once the Lord of misrule, involving the countries which he overran in a whirl-

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wind of discord and confusion, and the mighty spirit which could "ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm". Such is the paradoxical impression which the mere story of Shivaji leaves on the mind of the English student. But a survey of his institutions will remove the apparent contradiction and will explain, not only how a robber chieftain rose to be the founder of what was, for a century, the most formidable and wide spread power in India, but how, whatever his moral laxity in such an age and state of society, he deserved to succeed in his great and by no means simply selfish enterprise.—India on the Eve of British Conquest, by S. J. Owen, p. 127-128.

Shivaji's military genius, however, had early perceived the necessity of light infantry and light cavarly in a guerilla war and hill campaign. His Mawalis and Hetkaris have become famous in the military annals of India. Selected after personal examination by Shivaji himself, each man was trained into an excellent soldier, not by drilling in the parade ground, but by the surer method of service in an actual war. "Shivaji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust". (Manucci, Vol. II, p. 203). The result was that not only their weapons but the men who wielded them also gained effeciency.

Shivaji's infantry was carefully divided into regiments brigades and divisions. The smallest unit consisted of nine and the officer commanding it was called the Naik. The Havaldar of the infantry had five such units under him. Over two or three Havaldars was placed a Jumledar. The officer commanding ten jumlas was styled a Hazari. and the Sarnobat of the infantry had seven Hazaris under him. The Jumledar had an annual salary of one hundred Hons and his Sabnis got forty. The Hazari got five hundred Hons per year and his Sabnis's salary varied

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from one hundred to one hundred and twenty five Hons —Sen's Shiva Chhatrapati, p. 33.

The cavalry was divided into two classes, viz., the Bargirs and the Shiledars. The Bargir was equipped with horse and arms by the state, while the Shiledar brought his own horse and some times came with a body of troops armed and equipped at his own expense. The Bargir belonged to the *paga* proper, while the Shiledar held a comparatively inferior position. "The strength of the *paga*", says Sabhasad, " was rendered superior (to that of the Shiledar). Shiledars were placed under the jurisdiction of the *paga*. To none was left independence enough for rebelling. To every horse in the *paga* was appointed a trooper (Bargir), Over twentyfive such Bargirs was appointed an expert Maratha Havaldar. Five Havaldars formed a Jumla. The Jumledar had a salary of five hundred Hons, and a palanquin, and his Muzumdar a salary of one hundred to one hundred and twenty five Hons. For every twenty-five horses were appointed a water-carrier and a farrier. A Hazari was a commander of ten such Jumlas. To his office was attached a salary of one thousand Hons, a Muzumdar, a Maratha Karbhari and a Prabhu Kayastha Jamenis; for them was allotted a sum of five hundred hons. Salary and palanquin were given to each officer according to this scale. Five such Hazaris were placed under a Panch Hazari. To him was given a salary of two thousand Hons. A Muzumdar, a Karbhari, and a Jamenis were likewise attached to his office. These Panch Hazaris were under the command of the Sarnobat. The administration of the *paga* was of the same kind. Similarly the different Brigadiers of the Shiledar also, were placed under the command of the Sarnobat. Shivaji enlisted in his army not only Hindus but Muhammadans also. Shivaji pointed out that a King was a King first, and a Hindu or

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Muhammadan afterwards, and was supported in this wise resolution by his officers. Shivaji knew quite well that an army, however efficient. could not be expected to operate with success in an enemy country, unless served by an efficient intelligence department. He organised a body of excellent spies, the chief of whom was Bahirji Naik Jadhav. Shivaji was so well served by those intelligent officers that he owed many of his brilliant successes mainly to the information collected by them. On one occassion his army was saved from utter destruction by Bahirji's knowledge of unfrequented hill tracks.—Administrative system of the Marathas, (Military Deportment,) by Dr Surendranath Sen, pp. 123-24.

Originally little better than a marauding adventurer, Shivaji displayed wonderful sagacity in profitting by every opening that presented itself; and when brought face to face with the most powerful monarch of the east, not only maintained an equal contest but often gained decided advantages. When Aurangzeb entered opon his Mahometan Crusade, Shivaji met him on his ground; and taking Hindooism under his protection, gave it once more a natural ascendency. It is not to be denied, that in pursuing his objocts he was unscruplous and committed several atrocious crimes; but it may be pleaded for him in mitigation, that his enemies were in these respects still worse than himself and that while their crimes were often the effect of mere barbarism, delighting in deeds of blood for their sake, he was never wantonly cruel and threw hononr and humanity aside only when he imagined, of course erroneously that sound policy required it.—History of India by Beveridge, Vol. I. p. 301.

Page 7.—[18] The Bijapur government had at last become sensible of the necessity of making an active effort to subdue Shivaji and for this purpose an army was

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assembled, consisting of five thousand horse and seven thousand choice infantry, a good train of artillery, or what was considered as such, besides a large supply of rockets, a number of swivels mounted on camels, and abundance of stores. Afzoolkhan, an officer of high rank volunteered to command the expedition and at his public audience of leave, in the vaunting manner particularly common to Mahomedan natives of the Deccan, pompously declared that he should bring back the insignificant rebel, and cast him in chains under the foot-stool of the throne. —Grant Duff's History of the Maratha People, p. 168.

Against Sevagy the Queen this year (1659) sent Abdle Ckaune (Abudulla Khan alias Afzalkhan i. e. pre.eminent lord) with an army of 10,000 horse and foote; and because she knew with that strength hee was not able to resist Sevagy, she councelled, him to pretend friendship with his enemy; which he did. And the other (whether through intelligence or suspecion its not knowne) dissembled his love toward him.—Factory Records, 1655 p. 250.

Page 8.—[19] Aurangzeb's sagacity saw a substitute in the enterprising spirit of Shivaji; whom he congratulated on his victory over Abdul (Afzul Khan) and exhorted him to persevere, gave him 2 or 3 forts which opened into Bijapur but not foreseeing the extent of the concession or confidence of retrieving it, promised that he should hold exempt from tribute to the Mogul whatsoever territories he might conquer belonging to that kingdom.—Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 7.

Page9.—[20] Shivaji after scattering the forces opposed to him by Rustum Zaman and Fazlkhan, had marched upon Bijapur. But the Government was still strong enough to place a large army in the field, commanded by

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an Abyssinian named Siddi Johar, and Shivaji was compelled to retreat to Panala, where he was invested by the Bijapur troops. Revington had been quick to seize the opportunity of offering to sell his mortars and shells to Siddi Johhr for the reduction of that fortress, and on a favourable reply being received from the general he started on 2-4-1660, for his camp, carrying with him one of the mortars and a quantity of shells.—Deccan Factories, 1660, p. 370.

The Panella castle is closely beseidged and Sevagy, the Queen's grand enemy, in it with about 5 or 6000 men, The Queens generall Sallibut Ckawn, a Syddy, hath promised to buy some granadoes which undoubtedly will bee the chiefest disturbers of the beseidged.—Deccan Factories, 1660 5th June 1660, p. 377-378.

The English mortars (supplied to Siddi Johar at Panala) did not have the effect expected; but famine began to threaten and by September 1660 Shivaji saw that his position was hopeless. With great cunning he opened negotiations with Siddi Johar, for the surrender of the fortress; and then, after a personal interview which led the Bijapur commander to believe that the prize was within his grasp, he took the opportunity of the relaxed vigilence of the besiegers to make his escape at midnight with a few followers, Though closely pursued by Fazlkhan he succeeded in escaping to his stronghold at Vishalgad. (Kincaid's History of the Maratha People, Vol. I. page 168) Thanks to the devotion of his rearguard. The mountain rat was thus free once more to gnaw at the vitals of the Bijapur kingdom; and as will be seen he took an early opportunity to revenge himself upon the English factors for the aid they had afforded to his enemies.—The Deccan Factories, 1660 p. 387.

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Page 9.—[21] Shaista Khan was the son of Asaf Jaha, the son of Etimad Dowla father of Nur Jahan, Jahangir's favourite queen. Asaf Jaha became Vazir (Prime Minister) in 1618 after the death of his father. Mumtaj Mahal was the daughter of Asaf Khan and Shaista Khan was her brother. Shaista Khan was previously called Mirza Morad. He had three other brothers of whom Shaha Navaz Khan rose to great distinction. Shaista Khan was the nephew of Noor Jehan and brother of Mumtaj Mahal. He was thus the brother-in-law of Shah Jahan and maternal uncle of Aurangzeb.—Orme's Historical Fragments, Sec. I. p. 187.

Page 9.—[22] Sevagy, a great Rashpoot and as great an enemy to the Queene (of Bijapur) hath taken the great castle of Panella (28-11-1659 J. S.) within 8 course (kos) of Gollapur; which must needs startle the King and Queene at Vizapore. Wee wish his good success heartily, because it workes all for the companies good, hee and Rustum Jemah being close friends.....—Deccan Factories, 1659, p. 251.

Page 9.—[23] Shivaji. was bent upon establishihg his independence and on exploiting to the full the weakness of the Bijapur monarchy. His murder of Afzal Khan and the rout of that unfortunate General's army had been followed by the capture of the strong fortress of Panala and of several port towns, including Dabhol; and following up these successes he marched upon Bijapur, at the same time sending a small force to occupy Rajapur. These troops arrived early in January 1660 and what followed is related in a long letter from the factors to Surat dated 4-2-1660.

While Fozell Ckauna (Fazal Khan, son of Afzul Khan) joining forces with Rustum Jemah marched towards

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Sevagis forces, then lying at Panella; and in the way encountered with each other, in which encounter Fozell Ckauna being in the front was first routed and many of his men killed, and afterwards persued; while Rustum Jemah had only some of his men slaine and himselfe suffered to retreat back unto Hookery. Which news coming downe to Rajapore put the Governor into such a fright that hee would presently have runn from hence but we perswaded him to stay.—Deccan Factory to Surat, 42-1660

Page 10.—[24] Aurangzeb looked upon Poona as the home of that "hell-dog Shivaji", "the mountain rat" and his infernal Mawlees who embittered his existance and hastened the downfall of his Empire.—Western India by James Douglas, p. 34.

The scenery round Poona is of the most inspiring kind. To the west are the tremendous barrier ranges of the Sanhyadris. Only twelve miles to the south stands out the colossal fortress of Sinvagad. To the South-west may be dimly seen the peaks of Rajgad and Torna which when outlined agaiust the setting sun, arouse even to day emotion in the phlegmatic English man.—History of the Maratha People by Kincaid and Parasnavis, Vol. I. p. 130.

Page 10.—[25] Chakan, 18 miles to the north of Poona on the high road from Poona to Nasik, was deemed in these days a very strong and strategical point. It had a very strong fort then, with a deep moat full of water. The fort is now in complete ruins.

"Then the royal armies marched to the fort of Chakan and after examining its bastions and walls. they opened trenches, erected batteries, threw up intrenchments round their own position, and began to drive mines under the fort. Thus having invested the place, they used their best efforts to reduce it. The rains in that country

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last nearly five months, so that people cannot put their heads out of their houses. The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for, without them one man cannot see another man of a party. But for all the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt, and the bows bereft of their strings, the siege was vigourously pressed and walls of the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns. The garrison were hard pressed and troubled; but on dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness. Sometimes the forces of the free-booter on the outside, combined with those inside, in making a simultaneous attack in the broad day light and placed the trenches in great danger. After the siege had lasted fifty or sixty days, a bastion which had been mined was blown up and stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons. The brave soldiers of Islam, trusting in God, and placing their shields before them, rushed to the assault and fought with great determination. But the infidels (Marathas) had thrown up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and had made intrenchments and plans of defence in many parts. All the day passed in fighting and many of the assailants were killed. But the brave warriors disdained to retreat, and passed the night without food or rest amid the ruins and the blood. As soon as the sun rose, they renewed their attacks and after putting many of the garrison to the sword, by dint of great exertion and determination they carried the place. The survivors of the garrison retired into the citadal. In this assault 300 of the royal army were slain besides sappers and others engaged in the work of the siege. Six or seven hundred horse and foot were wounded by stones and bullets, arrows and swords)"—Khafi Khan's History of Aurangzeb's Reign. Elliott & Dowson Vol. VII. pp. 262-263.



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Page 11.—[26] Finally, however, the old Captain (Shaista Khan) thinking that Shivaji's turbulent spirit would result in some mischief to his disadvantage, decided to temporise, and stayed for a long time in the Raja's territory. As Shivaji was greatly annoyed by Shaista Khan's presence, he resorted to a stratagem. He ordered one of his Captains to write to this Mogul and to persuade him that he was desirous of entering the service of the great Mogul, and bringing with him five hundred men in his command. When Shaista Khan received these letters, he did not at first dare to trust them; but when he continued to receive them. and the Captain could not adduce any causes of discontent which appeared to have any semblance of truth, he told him to come and bring his men with him. No sooner was he in the camp of the Moguls, than he demanded a passport to go and see the King and join his service; but Shaista Khan contented himself with telling him entertain hopes and he kept his eye upon him; Shivaji had ordered him to do his utmost to insinuate himself in the mind of Shaista Khan, and to spare nothing with this intent. He had told him even to go to the length of showing all possible animosity on suitable occasions and above all to be the first in any attacks which might be made against him. He put to fire and sword all that he came across in the Raja's territory, and did much more damage there than any one else; this won for him the complete confidenee of Shaista Khan, who in the end appointed him Captain of his guards. He guarded him badly however for, having one day informed Shivaji that on a certain night he would be on guard near the General's tent, the Raja came there with his men and being introduced by his Captain he approached Shaista Khan, who having awakened seized his weapons, and was wounded in the

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hand. Nevertheless he found means of saving his life but one of his sons was killed, and as Shivaji thought he had killed the man himself, he gave the signal for retreat. He withdrew with his Captain and all his cavalry in good order. He took away this General's treasure and he also carried off his daughter, to whom he paid all possible honour. He forbade his men under a severe penalty to do her any harm; on the contrary he had her treated most respectfully; and when he learnt that her father was still alive, he sent word to him that, if he sent him as her ransom a certain sum which he indicated, he would return his daughter safe and sound; and this was promptly done.—Thevenot in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. LVI, 1927.

Shaista Khan was at the out-set surrounded, one of his sons killed by his side, he himself belived dead of a great wound and one of his daughters carried off. Shivaji found a good occassion in the capture of the daughter of the General, to whom very far from permitting any harm or insult to be done, he had rendered all honours, which were due to her rank. The adroit Shivaji, wishing then to profit by so favourable a conjecture for negotiating with Shaista Khan, sent to offer to him to restore the princess for a certain ransom and wrote to him at the same time a letter, in which like a gentleman he advised him not to persist either in drawing him out to battle or in causing him to perish in his retreats; and said that it would be a pity if such a great Captain wasted time which he could have better employed for his glory in pursuing an obscure enterprise, which would never redound to his honour; that he would thereby lose his reputation and life ; that the attempt which he had made and which had cost him so dear, was merely the most

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insignificant of the stratagems which were prepared against him and he would never escape the snares which were going to be laid for him.

We do not know whether it was this letter or some other necessity of state which obliged the Mogul Prince to induce the King his master to agree to leave Shivaji in peace. Whatever it might have been, no sooner he had recovered his daughter, than he himself retreated and under the pretext of leading his army to a more important enterprise, he left the field free for the activity of Shivaji.—History of Shivaji by father Joseph D'Orleans, 1688, with criticism by Orme.

A girl, alarmed for her life, showed Shivaji the way to Shaista Khan's room. Shaista Khan awoke and immediately fled, he lept over a wall that was in his way and got safe beyond it. Shivaji pursued him, made a cut at him with his sword, and cut off his thumb. The tumult awoke all the guards and attendants, who closed all the exits around Shivaji, but Shivaji made his escape by the way he entered. When Shivaji got out of the window, he saw a man with a torch upon an elephant and perceived that the road by which he had to pass was defended. He considered for a moment, and determined to attack the party. He made an onset with such vigour that he cut his way through them. The elephant was badly wounded and had its trunk cut off. Shivaji having thus got clear, mounted a horse and fled, and in the morning he arrived at Rajgad (Sinhagad?).—Selections from the Govt. Records of Bombay Secretariat, Vol. I. part I. p. 15.

Page 11.—[27]Scarcely had Jaswant reached the Deccan when he opened a communication with Sevagy, planned the death of the King's lieutenant, Shaista Khan, on

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which he hoped to have the guidance of the army and the young Viceroy. Aurangzeb received authentic intelligence of this plot and the share Jaswant had in it; but he temporised, and even sent letters of congratulation on his succeeding to the command-in-chief. But he soon superceded him by Raja Jeysing of Amber who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture (?) of Sevagy. —Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 49.

The life of Jaswantsing is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajputana. Had his abilities which were far above mediocrity, been commensurate with his power, credit, and courage, he might, with the consonant aid of the many powerful enemies of Aurangzeb, have overturned the Mogul throne. Throughout the long period of two and forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb in the battle of Nerbuda, to his conflicts with the Afgans amids the snows of Caucasus. Although, Rahtore had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jehan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggle for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all. His blind arrogance lost him the battle of Nerbuda and the supineness of Dara prevented his reaping the fruit of his treachery at Kujwa. The former event, as it reduced the means and lessened the fame of Jaswant, redoubled his hatred to the conqueror. Jaswant neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. Impelled by this motive, more than by ambition, he never declined situations of trust, and in each he disclosed the ruling passion of his mind. His overture to Sevagy (like himself the implacable foe of the Mogul), against whom he

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was sent to act; his daring attempt to remove the Imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force; his inciting Mo-Azzim, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jaswantsing's thirst for vengeance. The Emperor, fully aware of this hatred, yet compelled from the force of circumstances to dissemble, was always on the watch to counteract it, and the artifices this mighty King had recourse to in order to conciliate Jaswant, perhaps to throw him off his guard, best attest the dread in which he held him. Alternately he held the Viceroyalty of Gujerat, of the Deccan, of Malwa, Ajmeer, and Cabul (where he died), either directly of the King, or as the King's lieutenant, and second in command under one of the Princes. But he used all these favours merely as stepping stones to the sole object of his life. Accordingly if Jaswant's character had been drawn by a biographer of the court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the Empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the King, the avowed enemy of the Hindoo faith we only see in Jaswant a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the Raja, therefore, only opposed fraud to hypocricy and treachery to superior strength. Doubtless the Rahtore was sometimes dazzled by the baits which the politic King administered to his vanity; and when all his brother princes eagerly contended for royal favour, it was something to be singled out as the first amongst his peer in Rajputana. By such conflicting impulses were both

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parties actuated in their mutual conduct throughout a period in duration nearly equal to the life of man; and it is no slight testimony to Aurangzeb's skill in managing such a subject, that he was able to neutralize the hatred and the power of Jaswant throughout this lengthened period. But it was this vanity, and the immense power wielded by the Kings who could reward service by the addition of a Viceroyalty to their heriditory domains, that made the Rajput princes slaves; for, *had all the princely contemporaries of Jaswant, Jeysing of Amber, the Rana Raj of Mewar, and Sevagy, coalesced against their national foe, the Mogul power must have been extinct.* Could Jaswant, however, have been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge; for the image of the Rahtore crossed all his (Aurangzeb's) visions of aggrandizement. The cruel sacrifice of Jaswant's heir and the still more barbarous and unrelenting ferocity with which he pursued Jaswant's innocent family, are the surest proofs of the dread which the Rahtore Prince inspired while alive. —Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. 2, pages 50-51-52.

Page 12.—[28] "But it is well known that Sevagy is a second Sortorius and comes not short of Hannibal for stratagem."—Letter by H. Gory, Esq; Dy. Governor of Bombay to E. I. Com. in 1677-78.

There is indeed a close parallel between Hannibal the Carthagenian General and Shivaji. Both strove hard for the liberty and independence of their country from foreign aggression. Both were endowed with the most brilliant talents and genius. In both, their powers of invention and resourcefulness, baffled the understanding and vigilance of their enemies. Both have been denounced by biassed historians for their imaginary acts of

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treachery and cruelty. But the contrast between the environments of these two conquerors brings out the superior mettle of the Maratha hero. Hannibal had not to make an army, much less to make a nation- Shivaji had to make everything for himself in order to build the Maratha nation. And that he did build a nation and found an empire, which lasted longer than the power of Carthage did after the death of Hannibal, is no little testimony to the superiority of the Maratha hero over that of Carthage.—Life of Shivaji Maharaj by Prof. N. S. Takakhav and K. A. Keluskar, p. VIII, preface.

Shivaji may be compared with Sir William Wallace. Both were well born. Both began life with guerrila warfare. Both dwelt in a land bristling with mountains, forts and castles and both created out of chaos the seeds of a nation's life and character by dealing heavy blows on the invader of their country.—Western India by James Douglas, p. 361.

In size, in physique, in soldier like qualities and in power of endurance, the nearest likeness to Shivaji in our days, making allowance for the difference of the times, was Sir Charles Napier, and for a certain impetuosity and ubiquity, Shivaji comes nearer to "the bearded vision of Sind," than any other man we know of.—Book of Bombay, by J. Douglas, p. 123.

Page 14.—29 "This night attack (on the camp of Shaista Khan at Poona) was a complete success. The daring and cunning of the Maratha hero were rewarded by an immense increase of his prestige. The whole country talked with astonishment and terror of the almost super-human deed done by Shivaji; and there was bitter humiliation and sorrow in the Emperor's court and family

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circle at this disaster to his maternal uncle and the "Premier Peer" (Amir-Ul-Umara) of his Empire." —Shivaji and his Times by Prof. J. Sarkar, Chap. IV, p. 103.

Page 14.—[30] Shevagi possessed all the qualities of a commander. Every influence, however latent, was combined in his schemes, which generally comprehended the option of more than one success; so that his intention could rarely be ascertained, and when accomplished did not discover the extent of its advantages, until developed by subsequent, aquisitions.—Orme's Historical Fragments, pp. 93-94.

The country was covered with hill forts of various degrees of strength and security; and the endless surprises and stratagems, by which he (Shivaji) obtained possession of them one after another, the fabulous speed of his midnight marches and his sudden appearance in far off districts, before his absence from home was even suspected, read almost like a romance, and recall the charming narratives of the exploits of Sir William Wallace, Robert Bruce, and his dauntless lieutenants Douglas and Randolph.—Conquerors, Warriors Administrators of India by Sir E. Sullivan, p. 374.

Page 14.—[31] Being a man of great prudence as Shivaji was, would he have had the help or connivance of the Portuguese of Bassein when he went to sack Surat? If he had it, the rumours of it reached the ears of the Mogul authorities to such a point that the Mogul Captain, Lodi Khan, in reprisals of the Portuguese entered the Portuguese territory in 1664 and carried off from there the good stuffs of the villagers. (Page III Vol. IX of the Historical Records Commission from a note on the attitude of the Portuguese towards Shivaji during the campaigns of Shaista Khan and Jaising.—By Prof. Pisurlekar.)

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Page 14.—[32] Surat in those days being the place of embarkation of pilgrims to Mecca was looked upon as a sacred place by the Moslems of India. It was then sometimes called Bab-ul-Mecca, or the Gate of Mecca. —Bernier's Travels, p. 190.

Page 15.—[33] On the approach of Shivaji preceded by clouds of cavalry, terror reigned within the city of Surat. Well has a poet said :—

" Hark to the tramp
From the hostile camp
Like the crested steeds of ocean,
Flowing vast in motion,
Their waving horse appears and heads the wild array:

And the earth clouds that rise
Vast and silent to the skies,
Their faithful message say
And the thunder of the clanging hoof that startles our repose:

Near and more near is rolling through the air
O'er the plain from our foes
With deepening roar
As checkless pour
The torrent hosts, that through their mountain channel tear.—*Adopted, E. Pococke.*

Page 15.—[34] Father Navarette inserts, "I was told at Surat, the Subaji (Shivaji) was extraordinarily careful that no woman should be in his army; and, if he happened to find one, he immediately turned her out, first cutting

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off her hair and ears. This to prevent the effects of sensuality on the alertness and activity of his troops, for the same reason as the Tartars (Scythians).—Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 91.

Page 16.—[35] Mr. Smith further tells us, that on Thursday i. e. 7th January 1664, there came a young fellow with some condition from the Governor of Surat, which pleased Sevagee not at all soe that hee asked the fellow whether his master, being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow immediately returns, "and we are not women; I have somewhat more to say to you," draws his dagger, and runs full at Sevagee' breast; a fellow stood by with a sword redy drawne, strikes between him and Sevagee, and strikes his hand almost off, soe that it hung but by a piece of flesh; the fellow haueing made his thrust at Sevage with all his might, did not stop, but ran his bloody stumpp against Sevagee breast, and with force both Sevagee and he fell together, the blood being seen upon Sevagee the noise run through the camp that hee was killed, and the crye went, kill the prisoners, where upon some were miserably hacked; but Sevagee haueing quitted himselfe and hee that stood by haueing clouen the fellows scull, command was given to stay the execution, and to bring the prisoners before him, which was immediately done and Sevagee according as it came in his minde caused them to cut off this man's head, that mans right hand, both the hands of third. It comes to Mr. Smith's turne and his right hand being commanded to bee cut off he cried out in Indosthen to Sevagee, rather to cut off his head unto which end his hatt was taken off. But Sevagee stopt execution and soe praised be God hee escaped.—Extracts from the letter

of Mr. L'Escaliott to Dr. Browne, Surat, January 26th 1664. From the Indian Antiquary Vol. VIII, September 1879, p. 260.

Page 16.—[36] Shivaji and his people even in their warfare, were by no means mere bandits. A halo of heroism, patriotism, and religious zeal invested their proceedings, and induced them to regard the son of Shahaji as a predestined, divinely favoured, indeed as an inspired deliverer. On the whole both Shivaji and his original followers might well hold, and did hold, that in waging war after their own fashion with the Mussalman they were doing both God and man good service, covering themselves with glory, and gaining not only welcome, but creditably retributive spoils.—India on the Eve of British Conquest S. J. Owen pp. 129-30.

Page 17.—[37] Shivaji is so famously infamous for his notorious thefts that report hath made him an airy body and added wings or else it were impossible he could be at so many places as he is said to be at all, at one time. They ascribe to him to perform more than a Herculean labour, that he is become the talk of all conditions of people.—Factory Records Surat to Karwar, 86. 26-6-1664.

Deccan (Bijapur) and all the south coast are all embroiled in Civil Wars,...and Shivaji reigns victoriously and uncontrolled, that he is a terror to all the kings and princes round about, daily increasing in strength...he is very nimble and active, imposing strange labour upon himself and that he may endure hardship, and also exercises his chiefest men, that he flies to and fro with incredible dexterity.—Factory Records Surat to Com. Surat, 86, 26-11-1664.

Page 17.—[38] Shivaji grew still bolder, constantly assailed the Imperial territory and convoys, seized two

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forts on the shore near Surat, and thence intercepted naval traffic: and even fell on the pilgrim ships bound for Mecca, a grave profanity in the eyes of the devout Aurangzeb. This assault on his religion was followed up by a daring insult to his political pride. Shivaji began to give himself royal airs, and coined money of his own. —Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 63.

Page 18.—[39] 14-3-1665. Master to President, Surat:— About the beginning of February, Sevagy himself in person set forth out of Mawlunda (Malwan) with a fleet of 85 frigates and 3 great ships and so sailing hy Goa, without any impedimeat from the Viceroy of Goa, arrived at Barssilore (Barcelor), plundered it and so returned to Gocurne (Gokarn). There he washed his body according to the ceremony of that place, he set forth and came to Ancolla with 4000 foot, having sent all his fleet saving 12 frigates which he detained for transportation of his army over the rivers he was to pass between that place and his country. From thence he camo to Carwar on 22-2-1665. —Factory Records, Malbar Coast, 1665, pp. 77-80.

Page 19.—[40] Aurangzeb never trusted one man to act alone; a colleague was always sent as a check upon him, and the divided command generally produced vacillating half hearted action.—Lane Poole's Aurangzeb, Chapt. X, p. 163.

Raja Jaising, son of Raja Mahasing, and grandson of Pratapsing, and great grandson of Raja Mansing belonged to the Kachwaha clan. Raja Mansing was a Rajput of high family. His ancestors were Akbar's faithful courtiers and adherents and were much esteemed by the Emperor. Mansing was a General of the Imperial forces in several engagements and did good service. The Raja's aunt, daughter of Raja Bhar Mal was one of Akbar's queens.

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His sister, Raja Bhagwan Das's daughter was married to Jehangir. The two families, of opposite races were thus united by blood relationship. Raja Jaising took service under Shah-Jehan and in 1664 was appointed Viceroy of the conquered provinces in the Deccan by Aurangzeb. He was a Sanskrit scholar and was acquainted with the Turkish, Arabic and Persian, languages.—Darbar-i-Akbari, p. 535.

There was never a Prince among the Rajputs equal to him in accomplishments. In pleasing manners, he was *unparalleled*; in valour, second to no one; and his generosity reminded men of Hatam Tai. He was completely learned in Hindi and understood the Turkish, Persic and Arabic languages. "He will never wholly die, who leaves behind him a good name."—Scott's History of the Deccan, Vol. IV. p. 17.

Page 19.—[41] Aurangzeb called to his presence Raja Jaising, in whose prudence and valour he had great confidence, and in a friendly way said, he could no longer endure the insults of Shivaji. Therefore he had come to the resolve that he would go in person against this rebel. For, it was necessary either that he should go on this campaign, or that Raja Jaising should undertake to suppress Shivaji. Raja Jaising with due politeness replied to Aurangzeb that if his Matesty would design to take rest, and do him the honour of appointing him to this expedition, he would take upon himself the defeat of Shivaji, would repress his assaults, and if necessary, his Majesty so requiring, would deliver him into his hands alive. Upon receiving this answer Aurangzeb took off the small Cabaya (Kabja or qaba) he was wearing next his body and gave it to the Raja to put on, and taking from his neck the necklace of pearls that he usually wore

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placed it round Jaising's neck, adding that he might choose the commanders to serve under him on this expedition. But it was necessary to make haste, for, in energy consisted all good performance. The Raja came out of the presence of Aurangzeb, and at once sent for Cavalry from his territory, and sixty lacs of rupees, (Jaising's appointment was made after the 21st of Qa'dah 1074, 16th June 1664, Ma-asir-i-Alamgiri, 48, line 16) to provide for expenses in addition to the large sums given him by Aurangzeb.—Storia de Mogor by Manucci, Vol. II, pp. 120-121.

"Jaising received his orders from the Emperor on his birth day i. e. on 30-9-1664 at Delhi to put down Shivaji. He crossed the Narbuda (Narmada) river at Handia on 19-1-1665 from thence he marched to Aurangabad, which he reached on 19th of February and paid his respects to Prince Muazzim or Shah Alam. After staying at Aurangabad for three days he left for Poona where Raja Jaswantsing was, and took over charge from him. Raja Jaswantsing left for Delhi on 7th March, 1665. Purandhar was invested on 30-3-1665."—J. Sarkar's Shivaji and his Times, p. 128.

But Aurangzeb soon superceded Jaswsntsing by Raja Jeysing of Amber, who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture of Shivaji. The honour attending this exploit was, however, soon exchanged for disgrace. For when the Amber prince found that the tyrant (Aurangzeb) had designs upon the life of his prisoner, (Shivaji), for whose safety he had pledged himself, he connived at his escape. —Annals of Marwar, Tod's Rajastan, vol. II. p. 49.

Page 19—[42] Shivaji was said to have Rajput blood in his veins, and his military capacity was now well established. But a pure blooded Rajput prince, who was also an eminent and zealous Imperial General, might well be

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adapted both to cope with him in the field, and over-awe and negotiate with him, and by force and moral influence combined, induce him to submit to Imperial authority. The result seemed for the time to justify the experiment. Jaising promptly captured Purandhar, one of Shivaji's strongest fortresses; and for five months carried fire and sword into his territory, reducing much of it to a desert., not however without retaliation.—Fall of the Mogul Empire by S. J. Owen, p. 63.

Page 20—[43] Jaising was born in the year 1605 A. D. He was posted to the Mogul army at the age of 12. He fought under the Mogul flag from Balkh (old Balhika of the Mahabharat and Bactria of the Greeks) in central Asia to Bijapur in southern India and from Kandahar (Gandhar) in Afganisthan (Ahi-gan-sthan) to Monghyir (Modagiri) in Bihar.—J. Sarkar's Shivaji and his times. p. 121.

The news in these parts is that Rajah Jessum (Jaising) is come to Brampore (Burhanpur) with 30,000 horse, 3000 of which were permitted to attend him into said citty. They say he comes to demand. 7.000,000 pagodas as a tribute due from the king of (Bijapur). What answer the king will give him none knows as yet, he staying until, Ballul Caune (Bahlol Khan) arrive and Sevagy's brother, Sind Elasse (Sayyid Iliyas Sharza Khan) being there already. It is reported three armys are to goe against the Mogul, the one under Sevagy, the other under Rustum Jemah, and the third under Cows Caune (Khawas Khan). But we feare the truth there of, Sevagy being expected down to Gokurne, where if he comes, though it is thought he will not rob any of Rutsum Jemah's countrey, yet we will not trust him, but will secure what possible we can.

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Gary to Lord Arlington: The great Mogul Orangzeb hath sent a great army, against him (Shivaji,) consisting of above 100,000 horse. If he prevails and take his country from him which lyeth between us and Chaul, it will be very happy for this island (Bombay); for then all manner of merchandize will be brought home to us in greater quantities and then no doubt but this will be the most flourishing port of the Orient.—Factory Records, 1665-67, Letter from Karwar to Surat, 23-1-1665, p. 76.

Page 20.—44 "Shivaji possessed all the qualities of a commander. He spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all the motions and intentions of his enemies and even of their minuter imports. In personal activities he exceeded *all the generals of whom there is record.* No General ever traversed as much ground as he, at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, howsoever sudden and extreme, with instant discernment and unshaken fortitude. The ablest of his officers acquiesced to the imminent superiority of his genius, and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Shivaji charging sword in hand."—Orme's Historical Fragments, pp. 93, 94, 95.

If the Emperor had put forth his strength at this period, it is probable he would have crushed Sivaji; but he seems to have considered it advisable to allow him to weaken Beejapore and perhaps Golconda also, so that, they could be overwhelmed by him at any time. The plunder of some pilgrim ships by Sivaji's fleet was not however to be borne; and Raja Jeysing and Diler Khan two of the most efficient of the Imperial generals were sent to the Deccan.—Manual of Indian History, by Meadows Taylor, p. 345.



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The Marathas were brought into notice by the appearance among them of one of those remarkable men whose ambition and success astonish and afflict the world. The name of this Mahratta leader was Sevajee. He was born amid the storms of war and during his childhood was frequently in danger of falling into the hands of enemies....When Aurangzeb entered the Deccan he opened a correspondence with Sevagee but both were such perfect masters of every description of political intrigue that neither succeeded in gaining any advantage. Sevajee continued to pursue his own objects by his own means until the Government of Bijapore deemed it necessary to make an active effort to subdue him.—History of British Empire in India, by E. Thornton. Vol. I.

A new enemy had arisen in the Deccan whose transactions were not as yet alarming, but who had already proved the way to revolutions of the greatest importance. This was Sevajee, the founder of the Maratta Empire; a power which began when the Empire of the Moguls was in its utmost strength; and rose to greatness upon its ruins.—James Mill's History of India, Vol. II, Book, III, Chapt. IV. p. 57.

Impartial judges admit that Sevajee possessed qualities which, in an unenlightened Hindo, may be termed admirable. Prepared for every emergency, peril could not daunt, nor success intoxicate him. Frugal even to parsimony in his habits, courteous and endearing in manner, though passionate in disposition, he continued to the last to move freely about among the people, inspiring them with his own spirit of determined opposition to the Mahomedans. Intent on following every turn and winding of Aurangzeb's snake like policy, he also practised treacherous wiles; but the use of these

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unworthy weapons, did not detract him from his personal courage. To have seen him charge, was the favourite boast of the troops engaged in the Deccani wars; and his famous sword was preserved and regarded with nothing short of idolatrous veneration.—The Indian Empire by R. Montgomery Martin, Vol. I. p. 149,

No one was allowed to keep in the camp a female slave or dancing girl and any breach of this rule was punished with death. Shivaji a lover of discipline and method, had drawn up for his army a set of wise regulations. His countrymen had before them the example of the Bijapur army where disciptine was conspicuous by its absence. Shivaji placed before his men a high ideal, but an ideal cannot always be forced on an unwilling people at the point of sword. None the less, the great Maratha leader never failed to harangue his soldiers about their duties and responsibilities.—Administrative system of the Marathas by Dr. S. Sen, p. 133.

Page 20.— [45] Carre published 2 vols. He came to India in 1668. He admires Shivaji's character with enthusiasm and compares him to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar and ascribes to him all the qualities of a consummate hero and sovereign.—Orme's Historical Fragments p. 174. Sec. I.

"Like all animals that have been hunted (as he, Shivaji had been) he was wary and apprehensive to a degree and boundless in stratagem to meet sudden emergencies. In this science he had more in his little finger than Aurangzeb had in his whole body—a light sleeper with one eye ever open. And for courage we have Orme's authority and he may have had it from a living representative, that it was the boast of soldiers to

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have been with Shivaji when he rushed sword in hand into the midst of the enemy."—Bombay and Western India by J. Douglas Vol. I. p. 368.

Page 20.—[46] To compare Shivaji with Alexander, Tamerlane, Babar, Aurangzeb and other ambitious conquerors, is to misjudge him. The fields they piled with slaughter, in their career of blind ambition and aggrandizement at the expense and sacrifice of the liberties and fortunes of independent nations, arouse universal horror and can never obtain our forgiveness. Shivaji's ambition was redeemed from this taint. It was natural to hold that Hindusthan was for the Hindus and that the Hindus only had the right to rule in Hindusthan. It was natural to consider it a grave sin against nature that the stranger and the alien should enter and dominate over the land and persecute the children of the soil. To expel such unjust and oppressive tyrants from the mother—land and vow to make it again the scene of a free and prosperous indegenous Sovereignty, was in itself a blessed and righteous undertaking. And what wonder is it, if he, who voluntarily embarked upon this enterprise, has laid all India under a permanent debt of gratitude. Not personal ambition itself can detract from the merit of such an achievements...The few foreigners that suffered eclipse from the higher grandeur and glory of his deeds might vent their spleen upon him and fling at him every term of reproach and ridicule. It is all ineffectual bluster. The founders and champions of liberty, in all the world's history, have always received their meed of praise at the hands of impartial and disinterested historians. They have earned the historian's ungrudging applause for building their nation's happiness on the firm basis of liberty. Among such patriots Shivaji has every right to

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take a prominent place and he will keep it.—Life of Shivaji Maharaj by Takakhav and Keluskar, p. 582.

Page 21.—47 "Whenever we shall obtain a history of Shivaji's life written in his own country, he will doubtless appear to have possessed the highest recsurces of stratagem, joined to undaunted courage; which although equal to the encounter of any danger, always preferred to surmount it by circumvention, which if impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring."—Orme's Historical Fragments, Sec. I p. 119.

For a mere Jahagirdar to take up arms against the triple powers of the Bijapur, the Golconda and the Mogul states was at no stage a light matter, and to the contemporaries of the youthful Shivaji its rashness presented itself in its most disheartening form. It was, therefore, a foregone conclusion that stratagem and policy were indispensable tools for the pioneer labours of deliverance. Without an appreciable measure of these qualities and certainly in the total absence of them, Shivaji could never have succeeded in accomplishing even the least of the amazing exploits of his wonderful career. Much less could he have given to his Maharashtra countrymen, if only for a temporary period, the joyful experience of liberty. With the Bijapur Government past the zenith of its power, with the Mogul Emperor making tremendous strides towards paramcuntcy over all India and pouring out his mighty armies and unlimited resources to accomplish the destruction of Shivaji, his armoury of stratagem proved equal to every occasion, furnished the means of ready defence, and enabled him by a process of ceaseless corrosion to dissolve and wear out their authority.—Life of Shivaji Maharaj by Takakhav and Keluskar, pp. 569 and 570.

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Page 21.—48 "Whereupon it is clear, the Deccanees are a warlike and troublesome nation, apt to dislike Government, proud and brave, having an army more splendid than the Moguls, adorning their elephants, horses, and lances with silver bells and feathers, gallant and rich in apparel. The people swarthy or olive of all religions. Shivaji's men are fitter for any martial exploit having been accustomed to fare hard, journey fast, and take little pleasure. But the other (Mogul) will miss of a booty rather than a dinner, must mount in state, and have their arms carried before them and their women not far behind them with the masters of mirth and jollity; will rather expect than pursue a foe, but then they stand it out better; for Shivaji's men care not much for a pitched battle, though they are good at surprising and ransacking, yet agree in this that they are both of stirring spirits." —Dr. Fryer's Travels in India, p. 415.

"This Shivaji, whom his subjects calls Raja, which signifies petty king, is so powerful, that he maintains war at once and the same time with the great Mogul and the Portuguese. He brings into the field, 50,000 Horse, and as many or more Foot, much better soldiers, than the Moguls, for they live a day upon a piece of dry bread, and the Moguls will march at their ease carrying their women, abundance of provisions and tents so that their army tooks like a moving city."—A voyage round the world by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri, 1695 A.D. quoted on p. 23, of Dr. S. Sen's Military system of the Marathas.

The Mogul troopers with their heavy accoutrements and luxurious habits were no match for the little, hardy, light clad, ubiquitous horsemen, whose usual food was a cake of millet with now and then an onion, who slept bridle in hand under the open sky, and whose strong, active, well trained little steeds were always ready for the work required of them.—Trotter's History of India, p. 146.

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"Any man will be convinced of the marvellous toughness and endurance of the Mahratta, and more than this he will be filled with admiration at what were once heroic virtues walking, running and climbing." "The best runner" said Shivaji "makes the best soldier." —Bombay and Western India, by J. Douglas, Vol. I, p. 333.

In spite of his defects the Maratha soldier was a fine fellow. Of short stature and light built, he was man for man inferior to the tall and stout Mughal and Deccani Mussalman. But his courage, hardihood, wonderful energy, presence of mind and agility more than compensated for his physical inferiority. Demoralised by the tactics of their elusive adversary, the Bijapuris and the Mughals at last failed to meet him even in the open field on equal terms.—Administrative system of the Marathas, by Dr. S. Sen, p. 135.

Page 21.—[49] "Maharashtra, the home of the Maratta, is a country of great natural strength, interspersed with mountains and defiles, all of which are defended by fortresses, that are reserved as depots for treasure or as retreats in the events of ill success or defeat. Perhaps no country on earth is better calculated for the purposes of defensive war; so that whatever be the fortune of the Maratta in the field we may safely pronounce that in their own country they will always be impregnable. I have counted in a day's march nearly 20 forts all in sight in different directions. A country so strongly situated is unconquerable."--Maratha constitution by Col. W. H. Tone, p. 20.

Page.—[50] Shivaji was always partial to the Mawulees. He observed that, although clownish and stupid in appearance, they were active and intelligent in anything to which they had been accustomed and

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remarkably faithful in situations of trust.—Grant Duff's History of the Marathas p. 108.

Clothed in short drawers, half down the thigh, a turban and some times a cotton frock, a cloth round their waists which answered the purpose of a shawl, ignorant of any baggage but booty, and able with ease to perform marches of 30 to 40 conse actively; armed with match-lock, sword and shield, excellent as marksmen and famous in hand to hand fighting, able to scale with perfect ease, and thread with infallible instinct the precipices and jungles, impassable to all save the goats and bisons of their native mountains, the Mawulees or peasants of the Sanhyadri, *were for all purposes of predatory and guerrilla warfare, the most excellent infantry in the world.*

The cavalry were scarcely inferior in endurance and daring to the infantry; and any one who has seen the long easy seat of the Mahratta horsemen the perfect skill and grace with which they handle sword, shield or spear, the comfort and convenience of their saddles and accoutrements, the sharp bitting of their active horse, will acknowledge them to be to all appearance the most wiry and workman-like looking cavalry in the world. Although of course not equal in weight to the heavy Mussalman cavalry mounted on the large horses of Cabul and Lahore, they so far excelled them in the rapidity of their movements and marches, that they were never compelled to engage against their will, and were often able to pillage and burn under the very beards of their enemies, and get clear off with their booty, almost before their presence had been discovered. In all ambuscades the Mahrattas rode mares to avoid the danger of neighing; and when proceeding on a distant expedition where speed and surprise were the necessary materials of success, each horseman after the manner of the

Tartars, and the wild Indians of the Pampas, was accustomed to lead or drive one or two loose mares in order to be able frequently to change the weight and to have ready transport for their anticipated plunder; the length and rapidity of marches thus organised appear incredible in these days of four year old chargers and twenty four stone warriors; indeed the difference between a twelve stone man with two horses and twenty four stone man with one horse is too remarkable to require much notice. —Conquerors, Warriors, and Statesmen of India, by Sir E. Sullivan Chap. XXIV. pp. 369-370.

Page 21.—[51] Says Jaising in his dispatch to Aurangzeb:—" I had sent men to invite Chandra Rai and his brother, the old Zamindars of Jaoli, with promises and passage money. Other messengers of mine went to Ambaji and two other brothers of his, who were posted by Shivaji at Purandhar to *cast guns* and who had 3000 cavalry. I have written to the late Afzul Khan's son to come into Mogul pay and exact vengeance from Shiva. It is likely that some of Shivaji's comrades will desert him and join us. What is your Majesty's pleasure about the Mansabs and Jagirs to be given to them." (From this dispatch of Jaising, it appears that Shivaji had not neglected the art of casting guns and that his men were doing it at Purandhar.)

Page 22.—[52] Catrou from Manouchi's manuscript says, "Netaji Palkar was bribed by Jaising, which, although not mentioned in Mahratta manuscripts, is more than probable".—Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, Chapt. VI. p. 173

Page 23.—[53] " For, the Mahratta knows no terror of his foeman in the field, Breaks like hardened forest timber, bends not knows not how to yield."—Call to Arms, Appeal to the Mahrattas written at the time of the Great War, by Rao Saheb G. K. Deshpande.

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Page 24.—[54] The decendants of Murar Baji are still to be found in the Baroda state. The family has given the Baroda state the most capable of Divans. The family has not only produced best warriors but best statesmen too. —Author.

Page 25.—[55] Sevagi, the gentile leader, profiting by the distracted state of the Kingdom, has seized upon many strongholds, situated for the most part in the mountains. This man is exercising all the powers of an independent sovereign; laughs at the threats of both, of the Mogul and of the king at Visapour (Bijapur); makes frequent incursions, and ravages the country on every side from Sourate to the gates of Goa. Yet it cannot be doubted that, notwithstanding the deep wounds which from time to time he inflicts upon Visapour, the kingdom finds in this daring Chieftain a reasonable and powerful co-adjutor. He distracts the attention of Aurangzeb by his bold and never ceasing enterprises and affords so much employment to the Indian armies, that the Mogul cannot find the opportunity of achieving the conquest of Visapour. How to put down Seva-Gi is become the object of chief importance.—Bernier's Travels, pp. 197-198.

Page 25.—[56] Great in peace as in war, he ruled his subjects with a firm yet tight hand, enforcing equal justice between high and low. Choosing his agents from the ablest men in the land and recruiting his treasury by fair and regular process. His troops were highly paid and kept under the strictest discipline, and a well ordered economy marked every branch of the public service. —Trotter's History of India, p. 141.

Shivaji is certainly one of the greatest princes of Hindu history; he revived the ancient glory of a race,

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that centuries of subjection had tended to debase; and during the very height and power of the Mogul dynasty, he founded and raised to empire the most powerful native kingdom yet seen in Hindusthan. He possessed every quality requisite for success in the disturbed age in which he lived; cautious and wily in council, he was fierce and daring in action; he possessed an endurance that made him remarkable even amongst his hardy subjects, and an energy and decision that would in any age have raised him to distinctions. By his own people he was painted on a white horse going at full gallop, tossing grains of rice into his mouth, to signify that his speed did not allow him to stop to eat. He was the first Hindu prince who forced the heavy Mogul cavalry to fly before the charge of the native horse of India; his strength and activity in action were the glory and admiration of his race; and long after his death the proudest boast of the Mahratta soldier was to have seen Shivaji charge sword in hand.—Conquerors, Warriors and Statesmen of India, by Sir E. Sullivan, page 384.

Shivaji was almost worshipped as a God, and the renown of his deeds, his eagle glances and long arms, his rapid marches and secret forays, are to this day the most popular themes of the wandering Ghadshis or minstrels of the Deccan.—Conquerors, Warriors and statesmen of India by Sir E. Sullivan, p. 385.

Sewajee was, as a soldier, unequalled, skilled in the arts of Government, and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his schemes wisely and executed them with steadiness, He consulted many on every point but acted according to that advice, which after weighing in his own mind he thought best applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but

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by the success of their execution.—Jonathan Scott's History of the Deccan, Vol. II, p. 54.

Page 28.—[57] Had Jaising of Amber (Jaipur), the Rana Raj of Mewar and Shivaji and the other great native princes of his time coalesced with Jaswant, the Mogul power must have fallen. "Sighs" says Aurangzab's historian, "never ceased to flow from Aurangzeb's heart whilst 'Jaswant lived'.—Conqurors, Warriors and Statesmen of India, by Sir E. Sullivan p. 388.

Page 31—*" It would not be easy to exaggerate the interest with which these old songs (ballads) are listened to, or the fervent feeling which they excite, feelings less demonstrative but far more deep and abiding than the *hysterica passio* of a Moslem Mohurrum. It is something higher and nobler than a mere emotional impulse which his ballads evoke in the breast of a Maratha. They recall to him not the inventions of a diseased vanity, or the legends of a spasmodic fanaticism, but great historical deeds and figures which crowded round the nation's mighty development, the music and the glow with which the great wave swept on or the wail and the darkness of its reflux. The Maratha has strong national feelings. Other peoples in India are knit together by other causes; they are castes, religions, sects, tribes; but the Marathas are a nation, and from the Brahman to the ryot they glory in the fact. They are, therefore, susceptible to a class of emotions which is foreign to the nature of other Indian races. The ballads of the Marathas are the ballads of the men of Maharashtra (the Great Nation) as such, and burn through and through with patriotic fervour.

With their records of victory and defeat, of heroic deeds and heroic men, of battles, and conquests, they preserve, whereever they are sung, the national memories

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of Maharashtra, its noble struggle for independence, its period of victorious expansion, its dominion and its decline; and over the plains of the Deccan, and the deep valleys and bold ridges of the Sahyadris, from village to village, the humble bard still travels, and still to rapt and excited audience, sings of the great days when the armed fathers of the men around him, gave laws at the spear's point to all the princes of India, or retreated, wounded and dismayed, before the sword of the sea-dwelling stranger.

The times that gave birth to them have passed away, but they keep alive that love for the scenes and institutions of their country which is so conspicuous among the Marathas. The Maratha is not the man who will yield himself up to the wild hysterics of small agitators; he has known when to fight and how to fight; he has won his freedom once from fanatical oppressors; and he is able and willing to acquiesce in the established fact which gives him peace and justice and perfect liberty."—Introduction to Historical ballads of the Marathas, by H. A. Acworth, p. XI, 1890.

Page 31.—58 In addition to the above terms, Shivaji made another and a conditional engagement with the Moguls. "If lands yielding 4 lakhs of huns a year in the low lands of the Konkan and 5 lakhs of huns a year in the uplands (Balaghat Bijapuri) are granted to me by the Emperor and I am assured by an Imperial Farman that the possession of these lands will be confirmed in me after the expected Mogul conquest of Bijapur, then I agree to pay to the Emperor 40 lakhs of huns in 13 year's instalments." He was expected to wrest these lands from the Bijapur officers by means of his own troops. Here we detect the shrewdness of Jaising's policy in throwing a bone of perpetual contention between Shivaji

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and the Sultan of Bijapur. He wrote to the Emperor, "this policy will result in a three-fold gain; first we get 40 lakhs of huns, 2 crores of ruppees; secondly, Shivaji will be alienated from Bijapur; thirdly the Imperial army will be relieved from the arduous task of campaigning in these two broken and jungly regions, as Shiva will himself undertake the task of expelling the Bijapur garrisons from them. In return for it Shiva agreed to assist the Moguls in the invasion of Bijapur with two thousand cavalry of his son Sambhaji's Mansab and 7 thousand expert infantry under his own command."—Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, Bhandarkar's commemorative Essays, p. 296.

29-12-1665: Oxenden to the Company: In mine of the 31st March, I acquainted you that this king's (Aurangzeb's) forces were marched into the Deccan, but as then heard of no action, since when they beseiged some considerable castles belonging to Sewagy and took two, and have at length reduced him to condition and he delivered up divers of his strongest castles and his sonne a hostage, and it is reported that he is preparing to go and visit the Mogul. On the other side the king of Deccan (Bijapur) hath recovered from him Rajapore, Dabhol and all the country adjacent. The king of the Deccan hath made peace with the Mogul, the report is for 900,0000 pagodas, and is sending his tribute money to Agra.—The English Factories in India, 1665-67, Surat, Events, pp. 36-37.

All danger of fresh raids by Shivaji was soon removed by the great campaign in which the Mogul army at last reduced him to submission. Early in March 1665 Raja Jaising took over command of these forces and atonce commenced his preparations for the arduous task of crushing the wily Maratha Chietfain. His move towards Bijapur was intended to over-awe that monarch

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and prevent him from lending any aid to Shivaji; and at the end of March his real purpose was disclosed by his laying seige to Purandhar, one of the most important of the Maratha strongholds, on a hill twenty miles southeast of Poona.—Factory Records, Malabar coast, 1665, p. 80.

Shivaji and Netaji went and met Raja Jessun and delivered his sonne for a pledge; upon what condition wee know not, but Sevagy is to deliver up 23 castles. Four are already delivered. This submission was caused by Raja Jessun going so roundly to work, having so battered Punedhar (Purandhar), a very great castle being about 10 miles round without walls, that the beseiged could not have held out above 4 or 5 days longer. Some says (which we are apt to believe) that Raja Jessun hath shewed him a Rashboot's (Rajput's) trick, having sent his son and Netaji to Agra. (This was incorrect). *Something is the matter that he (Shivaji) parts so peaceably with his country.* Wee have sent a man to the Raja's camp at Puna to know the certainity; when he returns, wee shall write what newes he brings, by the next. —Factory Records, 1665, p. 83.

Our men from Rajapore and Rajah Jessun's camp being both returned, he from the camp brings us newes that Sevagy's sonne is certainly there and that Sevagy is preparing to goe visit Orungzeb, having delivered up several of his best castles to the Mogule. His family he hath secured in Raire (Raigad), a place well known to Mr. Randolph Taylor.—Factory Records, 1665, p. 83.

Page 32.—[59] Early in August 1665 Jaising wrote to the Emperor: "Your Majesty has asked—what promises and agreements have been made by Shiva." What oaths considered solemn by Hindus have been sworn by him?

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How did you compose your mind about his (possible) ill—faith, when allowing him to go away? My liege! when I dismissed Shiva I took from him oaths no stronger than which a Hindu can possibly take and the violation of which is believed to make a man accursed and doomed to perdition. We agreed to the following conditions: (a) Shiva should be content with the 12 forts, large and small, and the land yielding one lakh of huns (i.e. 5 lakhs of rupees) which I had left to him as a mark of Imperial grace, and he should never act disobediently nor plunder the Imperial dominions, (b) wherever in the Subha of Deccan he is ordered on a service, he should perform it, (c) his son Sambhaji, with the rank of commander of 5 thousand, and accompanied by Netaji, who is surnamad the second Shivaji, should always attend on the Subahdar of the Deccan, (d) if lands yielding 4 lakhs of huns in Tal Konkan and five lakhs of huns in Bala Ghat, Bijapur (i.e. uplands) are granted to Shiva by the Emperor and he is insured by a Firman the possession of these lands after the expected conquest of Bijapur, then he would in return pay the Emperor 40 lakhs of huns in yearly instalments of 3 lakhs, (e) 23 forts with territory yielding 4 lakhs of huns in Bala Ghat and Tal Konkan, Nizam Shahi (i.e. the former territory of the extinct kingdom of Ahmednagar) will be taken away from Shiva and annexed to the Mogul Empire.—Haft Anjuman, Benares Ms 66b-67a, Modern Review for July 1916, p. 10.

Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji dated, 26th August 1665: After compliments: Your present letter couched in very humble strain, stating that account of your interview with Raja Jaising has been received. We are glad to note that you desire a general pardon for your conduct. Your wishes had already been communicated

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to us by your officers, viz, that you repent for your past deeds and that you surrender thirty (23?) forts to them and would retain twelve forts only with the adjoining territory, yielding in revenue one lakh of pagodas. In addition to these twelve forts which formerly belonged to the Nizam Shahi Government, you wish to retain another tract in the Konkan with a revenue of four lakhs of pagodas, that you have taken from the Bijapur Government and another tract under Balaghat in Bijapur territory with a revenue of five lakhs of pagodas. You want a charter from us to this effect and you agree to pay to us forty lakhs of pagodas in annual instalment of three lakhs. Our reply is that the policy pursued by you has been so unscrupulous that it does not deserve forgiveness. Nevertheless at Raja Jaising's recommenda tion we extend to you a general pardon and allow you to retain as you wish, twelve forts detailed below. The adjoining territory has also been granted to you. But out of the 9 lakhs of territory, that part which is in the Konkan and yields four lakhs and is at present in your possession has been annexed to our Empire. As for the other, with a revenue of 5 lakhs, it will be given to you subject to two conditions :

(1) You must recover it from the Bijapur Govern- ment before Bijapur falls into our hands.

(2) You must join Jaising with a well equipped army and discharge the Imperial work to his satisfaction and pay the stipulated ransom after the Bijapur conquest.

At present a mansab of five thousand horse has been offered to your son. Every horseman will have two or three horses. A dress has also been sent to you. This mandate bears our testimony and our seal.



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|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Rajgad. | 4. Udaydurg. | 7. Alwari. | 10. Mahagad. |
| 2. Bhorap. | 5. Torna. | 8. Rayari. | 11. Pal. |
| 3. Ghosala. | 6. Talegad. | 9. Lingangad. | 12. Kuwari. |

Page 32.—[60] Letter from Emperor Shah Abbas, II, of Persia to Aurangzeb: "I learn that most of the Zamindars of India are in rebellion because their ruler is weak, incompetent and without resources. The chief of them is the impious Kafir Shiva, who had long lived in such obscurity that none knew of his name; but now, taking advantage of your lack of means and the retreat of your troops, he has made himself visible like the peak of a mountain, seized many forts, slain or captured many of your soldiers, occupied much of that country, plundered and wasted many of your ports, cities and villages, and finally wants to come to grips with you. You style yourself a World-Conqueror (Alamgir) while you have only conquered your father; and having gained composure of mind by the murder of your brothers who were lawful heirs to your father's land and wealth. You have abandoned the royal practices of doing justice and charity and are busying yourself in the company of men who call-incantation and Satanic magic the knowledge of God and the exposition of Truth.—Faiyaz-Ul-Qawanin, 496-499, Sarkar's History of Aurangzeb, Vol. III, Chapt. XXIX, pages, 126-127.

Page 33.—[61] "Shiva despairing of help from Bijapur against the Moguls made peace with Jaising. The two infidels agreed together to invade Adilshahi territory. This Nimak Haram (traitor) Shiva, a hereditary servant of the Adilshahi Government; the worst of base-born traitors undertook the work. Adilshah was perplexed at the union of his neighbouring enemy with his external foe, because a thief who knows the secrets of the house

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can do a harm, the hundredth part of which no thief from outside can commit".—Bussatin-i-Salatin, 576.

Page 32.—[62] "Diler Khan being habituated to treachery, wished several times to kill Shivaji, and to this intent solicited Rajah Jaising to take his life or at least to give him (Diler Khan) leave to do so. He would assume all responsibility and see that the Rajah was held blameless. He said, the King would rejoice at such a result. For Shivaji's valour and intrepidity would never give any rest to the Mogul. But Rajah Jaising, who had pledged his word and oath not to allow of a murder but rather that the king should treat Shivaji with great honour, never listened to the words of Diler Khan. On the contrary, he made arrangements to send Shivaji to court well guarded and he told Ramsing to take precautions against the King's murdering Shivaji, for he had pledged his word, confirmed by an oath to protect him. *Better it would be for his house to be extirpated than to permit Aurangzeb, under cover of his words, to organise treachery*".—Manucci, Vol. II p. 137.

In the forgoing letter I advised you that the Deccan King had made peace with the Mogul and was sending his tribute money; which would not be accepted, but caused his army to march forward against Vizapore, the metropolis of Deccan. Within 12 miles of which city the Deccan army encounters them, over-threw them, and slane 14000 men and some Umbrawes of qualitee and the army retired further back. This King's general charges the losse of the battle upon the treacherie of Sevage who led the army into streight passages where the enemy fell upon them; and it is reported he hath secured Sevage.—Sir George Oxenden's letter, dated 17-2-16 6, to the Consul at Aleppo, p. 202.

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In our last we wrote how report runne of Sevagys being retaken, but since know the contrary. For in a battle between the Mogulls and this country-people he runne away, being afeared that Dillar Ckaune (a great Vizier of the Mogulls) would put him to death, he having told said Vizier that he would take Viziapore in 10 days time; upon which perswasion he set forwards with 20 thousand horse, but to his cost he found the contrary, being forced quickly to retire, after he had first seen his only sonne killed by Serja Ckaune own hand. This was the battle that we suppose your worshipp speaks of (page. 202). The Mogulls lost but about 300 men in all. Sevagy in his flight burnt downe all this king's townes that he passed through, till he came to Panella: which castle he thought to take by a wile having overnight sent them a word within that the king was coming and therefore they should keep the gates open; which they upon suspecion denying to do he thought to carry it by storme; but being repulsed with the loss of 500 men, he came down the hill again to Kelna (Vishalgad) a castle within 5 gaw or 30 miles of Rajapore. Where Netajee and he fell out they say. But whether they quarrelled, or there was some other mistery in it, wee cannot tell; but Netagee left him, and went to the king of Viziapore; where he having behaved himselfe outwardly to the king's content, he bestowed on him three lacs of pagodas yearly, and sent him upon the borders of the Mogulls countrey to defend what he had given him viz. the said Doulet (Daulet) or estate lying there aboute. When he had taken said countrey into his possession he wrote to Raja Jessum to send him men to keep it, intending nothing else than loyalty. Upon which said Rajah sent him some men, which (having order from said Rajah) seized on him and carried him prisoner to

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Mogulls camp where some say that he was cut off, others that he continues still a close prisoner. After Netagee had left Shivagy (as wrote formerly) Sevagy sent about 2000 men and besieged Punda (Fonda) a castle of the king's lying hard by Goa, which besieged two months and lost about 500 men against it, but at last brought it to a composition; the besieged having promised to deliver it up in six hours time, desiring so much to pack up what they had, which, according to agreement, were to carry out.—Karwar to Surat, 5-3-1666, p. 204, Vol. for 1664-67.

Page 34.—[63] After compliments: You are at prssent with your forces in the Imperial camp. You reduced the forts of Phaltan and Tathawda which had belonged to the Bijapur Government and you led the forces in the night attack in the Konkan where the enemy had pitched his camp. This we learn from Rajah Jaising's letter and it is the cause of our warm appreciation. In recognition of your services a handsome dress and a pretty little jewelled sword are sent to you. You will like it and the more hereafter you exert yourself in this campaign the greater will be our regard for you. —Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji, August 1665.

Page 34.—[64] Jaising wrote to the Emperor "Now that Adilshah and Qutb Shah have united in mischief, it is necessary to win Shiva's heart by all means and to send him to Northern India to have audience of your Majesty." The Emperor having consented to this proposal, Jaising set himself to induce Shiva to visit the Imperial court.—Shivaji and his Times by Prof. J. Sarkar, p. 166.

Page 35.—[65] After compliments: Your letter sent to us together with Mirza Raja Jaising's opinion has been favourably considered by us. We have a great regard for

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you and therefore desire you to come here quickly and without further loss of time. When we grant you audience we shall receive you with great hospitality and soon grant you leave to return. A present of a dress has been sent to you, which you will aceept.—Aurangzeb's letter to Shivaji, dated 5-3-1666.

Page 35.—[66] This great warrior has never even in a dream bowed to any one except his God since his childhood.—Shiva Bharat, p. 117 Verse 28.

Page 35.—[67] "In 1666, Aurangzeb urgently desired to be rid of him (Shivaji) and to gain his ends, he pretended to approve of what Shivaji had done (sack of Surat) and praised his action as that of a gallant man, putting the blame on the Governor of Surat, who had not had the courage to oppose him. He thus explained himself before the other Rajas of the court, among whom he well knew that Shivaji had many friends; and he gave them to understand that, as he esteemed the valour of this Raja (Shivaji), he wished him to come to the court, and he said plainly that he would be glad if some one would make this known to Shivaji. He even asked one of them to write to him and *he gave his Royal word that no harm would be done to him, that he would come to the court in all security,* that he, the Emperor, would forget the past and that his troops would be so well treated that he would have no cause for complaint. Several Rajas wrote what the king had said and went in person as security for his word, and thus he had no objection to coming to the court with his son, after having commanded his troops to be always on their guard under a captain whom he left at the head of them."—Thevenot's account of Surat, Indian Antiquary, Vol. LVI-1927.

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Aurangzeb was very liberal in making promises when he wanted to gain his ends, at the same time having quite made up his mind not to keep his word. His maxim was to make use of oaths only to deceive, the truth of which could never be vouchsafed. Thus he broke his word to Shivaji but it cost him dear.—N. Manucci's History de Mogor Vol. II, p. 35.

Page 35.—[68] Ramdas also advised Shivaji to go to Delhi (Agra).—Shiva Digvijaya, P. 242.

Page 36.—[69] For reasons not sufficiently explained either in the native chronicles or by Mr. Grant Duff, Shivaji was at this time persuaded that the most politic course for him was to make his submission to Raja Jayasing, who was then the premier Hindu nobleman at the Delhi court and to effect by peaceful means the aims he had in view. This resolution was not suddenly adopted in a moment of despondency. Seeing that Shivaji had so easily defeated Afzal Khan and Shaiste Khan, and that later on when Aurangzeb with his whole army occupied the Deccan, the Maratha generals were able to carry on the war against him without any recognised leader and with no single fort in their occupation, it cannot be for a moment supposed that Shivaji was unable to continue his contest with Jayasingh on equal terms. We may therefore take it for granted that *when he deliberately offered to submit to Jayasingh and make over most of his forts and territories, there must have been some deep laid scheme of policy which justified to him and his councillors the course he pursued.* Shivaji might well have thought that his temporary submission and visit to Delhi (Agra) would introduce him to a larger sphere of action, or at least would enable him to make the acquaintance of the great Rajput nobles of the Empire.

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Jayasingh's friendship, cemented by such an act of self sacrifice, might prove helpful in the furtherance of his larger designs. —Justice Ranade's Rise of the Maratha Power, pp. 105, 106.

" The real reason " says Mr. Kincaid, " for Shivaji's going to Agra, was the following; Shivaji remembered that his father Shahaji had separately fought with success both Moguls and Bijapur, combined they had overthrown him. Shivaji had for this reason avoided hostility with Delhi until he had made terms with Bijapur. Trusting in Ali Adilshah's honour, he had then attacked the Moguls. But as the recent invasion of Konkan showed, the Bijapur king was not to be trusted. He was now in league with Aurangzeb and was endeavouring to recover his lost possessions. Shivaji therefore resolved to make peace with the Moguls and with their help so to reduce the power of Bijapur that never again would its intervention against him be of any consequence."— History of the Maratha people by Kincaid and Parasnis, Vol. I. p. 211.

Let us consider how Shivaji conducted himself towards Jaising, when the latter came down upon him for the conquest of the Decean. No stratagem or intrigue was employed againt Jaising, as against his predecessor, Shaiste Khan. The one was conciliated, the other entrapped. The difference between the methods pursued in the two cases is surely an eloquent testimony to the difference in the policy intended. For how did the situation stand? There was Diler Khan battering the walls of Purandhar fort. He had battered the fort a long while, without solid success. That one fort had kept a large division of the Mogul Army in play, not without inflicting some punishment upon it. There was Jaising who had shot his last bolt and had failed to take Sinhgad. Shivaji was not

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yet driven to desperation. He could still have afforded, had he been so minded, to play fort against fort, army against army. And with all this he personally visits Jaising's camp, plays a studiedly humble part with the proud Diler Khan, sues for a treaty and accedes to the request of Jaising to visit Agra. Surely there must have been some policy in all this. And he knew Aurangzeb, knew him to be a perfidious man, a crafty ruler, a relentless enemy. When with all this knowledge, he deliberately ran the risk of putting himself in the power of such a formidable man, knowing his hostile feelings towards himself, we must need presume, he did so out of some deeper design. The whole event appears as a part of a profound and far reaching policy. This policy was to win over to his cause a powerful Rajput prince like Jaising, cultivate friendship with other Rajput nobles and through the intercession of Jaising with their sympathy, with a view to the further prosecution of his enterprise, to obtain a proper insight into the political situation in the north and procure the sanction of the Mogul power for a complete subjugation of Bijapur and Golconda. The story of his career reveals to us, that more or less successfully, he accomplished all his objects.—Life of Shivaji Maharaj by Takakhav and Keluskar, pp. 607-608.

In 1666, Aurangzeb resolved to be avenged on Shivaji for the plunder of Surat and he planned a scheme for entrapping the "mountain rat". He professed to be an admirer of Shivaji, and publicly praised his exploits. He declared that if the Mahratta would enter his service, he should be appointed Viceroy of the Mogul Deccan. Jaising of Jaipur was induced to believe that Aurangzeb was sincere and was empowered to make the offer to Shivaji; but he was required to leave his son at Delhi as a hostage

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for his good faith in dealing with the Mahratta.—A short history of India by J. Talboys Wheeler, p. 170.

Page 36.—[70] 1-3-1666 : Bombay to Company: If you would suddenly remove this presidency we opine you would be at a loss for goods to lade your ships home in regard when such a thing shall happen, this king and people will certainly be your enemies, not suffering you to take off any goods from this place but stopp all places of land conveyance through out all his dominions which extend to the southward of Bombay as far as Chaul, now that he (Aurangzeb) has worsted that grand rebel Sevagy, who finding himself overpowered by his sending of numerous armies upon him hath submitted himself, delivering up to this king's general upward of 30 castles and strongholds, together with all the countries belonging to them, and accepted of this king's pay of 5000 horse ; yet we cannot hear that he hath resigned himself personally, but done all this by treaty, keeping to himself some few of his 5 strongest castles for his retirement. This victory thus obtained over him is very pleasing to the king and hath made him way to assault Vizzapore, the great metropolis of Deccan, who before was tributory but refused to pay his usual tribute for some years *whilst Savagy was powerful and stood as a wall and partition between them;* who now that he is worsted is willing to pay his arrears, if this king will withdraw his army from further assaulting him; and it is thought by some *that Sevagy hath an after game to play still.* —Factory Records, 1665-67, p. 64.

Page 37.—[71] The people resumed their open talk against Aurangzeb for his attempt to poison Shah Jahan through a European physician and it was publicly said that God had given strength to Shivaji to inflict chastise-

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ment for such harshness. (on the of part Aurangzeb)". —N. Manucci, Vol. II p. 116.

Page 37.—[72] Mirza Raja Jaising promised Shivaji security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor and of agreeing to enter into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high Mansab, and made preparations for suitably receiving him.—Elliot and Dowson, Vol. VII. p. 273.

Page 37.—[73] Shivaji combined in himself the Rajput gallantry and love of war-like adventure with the extremely astute and wily disposition characteristic of the Mahrattas.—The fall of the Mogul Empire, by S. J. Owen, p. 55.

The best parallel for the great Mahratta will be found in the character of the Sultan Babar; possessing to a considerable extent the polished mind and personal prowess of that noble prince, he excelled him in foresight and stratagem; bold and reckless of danger as the most daring warrior that ever lived, he never attempted force when stratagem could avail. The character of Babar, reminds one of the bold open daring of a lion, whilst that of Shivaji resembles more the wily cunning of the tiger of his own native hills. Always in ambush till the time of action had arrived, he crept stealthily on his foes, and seldom failed when once his spring was really made; always pretending to do that which he never intended, no one was acquainted with his plans but by the success of their execution. So completely were his movements kept secret and so often had he circulated false reports of his death, to account for his sudden disappearance on some distant expedition, that for several days after his body was actually consumed, he was supposed by his

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enemies and even by his troops, to be commanding in person under the walls of Surat; and it was months before Aurangzeb knew that death had removed the great enemy against whose unflinching front the Mogul forces had dashed as hopelessly as waves upon a rock-bound coast. Shivaji was mild and merciful and although a bigoted worshipper of Brahma, he scorned to retaliate on the Moslems the cruel persecution which they had inflicted on the followers of his faith.—Conquerors, Warriors and Statesmen of India, by, Sir. E. Sullivan, pp. 385-386.

Page 37.—[74] Like the tiger of his own highland forests, Shivaji had crouched and waited until the moment came for the deadly spring. He owned his success as much to feline cunning as to boldness in attack.—Lane Poole's Aurangzeb, Chap. X, p. 159.

"The manner in which Shivaji established himself" says Grant Duff, "watching and crouching like the wily tiger of his own mountain valleys, until he had stolen into a situation from whence he could atonce spring upon his prey, accounts both for the difficulty found in tracing his early rise and the astonishing rapidity with which he extended his power when his progress had attracted notice and longer concealment was impossible."—History of the Indian Empire by Montgomery Martin, p. 142.

Page 38.—[75] "In the end, when Shivaji's fortress of Banagara (Purandhar), was invested, Jaising in his foreseeing way began to write to Shivaji, pointing out to him that if he would only listen to his words things should be so arranged with Aurangzeh that he (Shivaji) should be propitiated and appointed by the king as Governor of the Deccan. At the same time, opening his purse, a thing which has strong influence over both hearts and tongues, he sent heavy bribes (?) to Shivaji's mini-

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sters (?) so that, should he demand their counsel about what ought to be done, they should all tell him it were best to make an agreement with the Mogul king, since he promised to make him Governor of the Deccan. If Rajah Jaising went security for the royal word he could accept the proposal. For Aurangzeb would never fail in his word by reason of the estimation and respect in which he held the Raja."— Manucci, Vol. II p. 135.

Page 38.—[76] Jaising plied him with hopes of high reward and used a thousand devices (as he repeatedly wrote in his letters) to induce him to go to Agra. It is very probable that among the vague hopes which the wily Jaising held out to Shiva, was that of being appointed Viceroy of the Deccan where all the preceding imperial representatives, including Jaising himself, had failed and only a born general and renowned conqueror like Shiva could be expected to succeed. The Deccan charge was so heavy and mere generals had so often wasted imperial resources there, that in 1656 and in 1666, the Emperors had talked of going there in person, and conducting the war against the local Sultans. Shiva's past achievements promised success in such an enterprise if the vast resources of Delhi were placed under a tried military genius like him. What would be more reasonable (Jaising may have argued) than that the Emperor, after seeing Shiva and personally learning of his merits, would appoint him viceroy of the Deccan to achieve its conquest and save himself the troubles? (Vide note 69).—Shivaji and his Times by Prof. J. Sarkar, pp. 168.169.

Page 38.—[77] "Perhaps no country on earth is better calculated for the purpose of defensive war; so that whatever be the fortune of the Marattas in the field, we may safely prenounce that in their own country they will

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always be impregnable. A country so strongly situated is unconquerable and of this truth the Emperor Aurangzeb, who made some attempts to subjugate it appeared latterly to be convinced; for, when acting in the Deccan in the utmost plenitude of his power, he thought it more prudent to submit to the depredations of Shivaji, the great founder of the Mahratta Empire, than attempt the pursuit, through a mountainous country of a fugitive army, that he might possibly disperse, but could never defeat".—Commander W. Tone's Illustrations of some Institutions of the Mahratta people pp. 20-21.

Page.—[78] To ingratiate himself with Aurangzeb; to distinguish himself, as he had done at Bijapur, in active service in a command for which he had proved his competence; to acquire influence and wield resources, which he might insiduously and abruptly divert to his own purposes and employ against his employer, would be quite in accordance with his profound subtlety, his unscrupulousness, his personal ambition and his national aspirations—in short with the whole bent of his peculiar genius. And such I believe was his calculation.—Fall of the Mogul Empire, by S. J, Owen, p. 66.

Page 45.—[79] To find out whether proper watch and caution were observed in every fort, the Maharaja (Shivaji) used to go before the forts all alone and exhort the garrison to open the gate. "I am come, the Moguls are pursuing me, open the gates and take me in." So he would say and when the Havaldar opened the gate and took him in, the Maharaja would censure him severely and sometimes dismiss him. This happened at one or two places. He paid a similar visit with Balaji Aoji to Panhala, and he asked at the guard-room below the fort for permission to enter, but was forbidden by the garrison.

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"You are no doubt our master"—said they, "but you should first get the permission of the Havaldar and then enter." Thereupon he proceeded as far as the gate, guarded by a sepoy. When the Havaldar got the information, he came on the rampart with other officers of the fort and they made their obeisance from that place. The Maharaja appealed in various ways,—"I am fleeing pursued by an army. Open the gates and take me in." But the Prabhu Karbhari of Panhala and the Killedar answered, "We will open the gates at the time fixed (by the military regulations) and not before that." A bed was let down from the wall for the Maharaja's repose but the gate was not opened. The sentries kept watch over him the whole night and the gates were opened in the morning to receive him. Needless to say he was highly satisfied with the discipline of his men.—Shiva Digvijaya

Page 46.—[80] Some authors have said that Shivaji left for Agra in the last week of March. The Mahomedan historians were not in a position to give the exact date of his starting for Agra though they could give the exact date of his reaching Agra. Jedhe Shakavali gives the date as Falgun Shukla 9, Shak 1587, which corresponds with the 5th of March, 1666. A. D. Author.

Page 46.—[81] The Maratha Bakhars say that a large body of infantry and picked cavalry accompanied Shivaji to Agra. The number 6000 is certainly large. The foreign Historians give out the number quoted above. But one of them, Orme hints that Shivaji had kept on the frontier of Gujarath a considerable body of men as a support in case of necessity and we are inclined to agree with him. He may have, as mentioned by the Maratha Bakhars, taken a large number of men with him and left a major portion of it on the frontier of Gujarath to act in unision with his lieutenants at Agra, in case of a mishap. Author.

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Page 47.—He had the born leader's personal magnetism and threw a spell over all who knew him (or come in contact with him). His royal gift of judging character was one of the main causes of his success.—Prof. J. Sarkar's Shivaji. and his Times, p. 491.

Page 47.—[83] "Shivaji is coming to pay homage. Wherever he may encamp the Foujdar (officer) of the place should wait on him and supply food and drink as may be necessary. He should be honoured in the same manner as the Shaha Jadas."—Aurangzeb's order to all his officers. Sabhasad. p. 61, English translation, by Dr. Sen.

Page 49.—[84] This place no longer exists. The ground covered by the noble Taj once belonged to Maharaja Jaising and Shah Jehan purchased it from him to build the Taj on it.—Badshah Namah of Mulla Abdul Hamid of Lahore Vol I. p. 403.

A wild path going from just below the Railway bridge over the Jumna along the eastern wall of the fort joins the pucca road constructed during the famine of 1838. The area occupied by the road was once lined by the elegant houses of the nobles. They now lie low. Some fell before and others after the mutiny, and are now mere heaps of shapeless ruin. Half a mile off from the Fort there was on the right side of the Strand Road, Roomi Khan's dwelling close to the Bukhara Ghat. On the left side along the river bank, houses and gardens proceeded in an unbroken line from the Fort to the Taj. Among them was the block, a Crystal palace called Sahebji's Dorhi. A little way on, there stood Mahabat Khan's residence, beyond which lay the shrine of Saiyad Jalal Uddin Bukhari which still exists. Near the Burning Ghat were the mansions of Raja Jaising, now effaced

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for ever. Between the Burning Ghat and the Taj are to be seen to the present day the spacious garden and stone dwelling of Khan-i-Alam the only remnants of that catalogue of brilliant habitations.—History of the Taj by Mnd. Moinuddin p. 13.

Page 49.—[85] The Emperor allotted a big independent house in its own garden (Haveli) and named the place Shiopura and there the Raja (Shivaji) took up his residence.—History of Shivaji, by Sabhasad p. 62. Translation by Sen.

Maratha Daftar No. 1, Shedgaonkar's Bakhar p. 51

Page 49.—[86] The scene on any state occasion was imposing and almost justified the inscription on the gateway: "If there be a Heaven upon earth, it is here, it is here." The approach of Aurangzeb was heralded by the shrill piping and clashing of cymbals from the band-gallery over the great gate:—The Emperor appeared to be seated upon his throne at the end of the great hall, (Diwan-i-am) in the most magnificent attire. His vest was of white and delicately flowered satin with a silk and gold embroidery of the finest texture. The turban of gold cloth had aigrette whose base was composed of diamonds of an extraordinary size and value besides an oriental topaz which may be pronounced unparalleled, exhibiting a lustre like the sun. A necklace of immense pearls suspended from his neck reached to the stomach. The throne was supported by six massive feet, said to be of solid gold sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. It was constructed by Shah Jehan for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accmulated successively, in the treasury from the spoils of ancient Rajas and Pathans, and the annual



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presents to the monarch which every Omrah is bound to make on certain festivals. At the foot of the throne were assembled all the Omrahs in splendid apparel, upon a platform surrounded by a silver railing and covered by a spacious canopy of brocade with deep fringes of gold. The pillars of the hall were hung with brocades of a gold ground and flowered satin canopies were raised over the whole expanse of the extensive apartment fastened with red silken cords from which were suspended large tassels of silk and gold. The floor was covered entirely with carpets of the richest silk, of immense length and breadth. A tent called the Aspek, was pitched outside (in the court) larger than the hall, to which it joined by the top. It spread over half the court, and was completely enclosed by a great balustrade, covered with plates of silver. Its supporters were pillars overlaid with silver, three of which were as thick and as high as the mast of a barque, the others smaller. The outside of this magnificent tent was red, and the inside lined with elegant Masulipatan Chintzes, figured expressly for that very purpose with flowers so natural and colours so vivid that the tent seemed to be encompassed with real parterres. As to the arcade galleries round the court, every Omrah had received orders to decorate one of them at his own expense, and there appeared a spirit of emulation who should best acquit himself to the Monarch's satisfaction, consequently all the arcades and galleries were covered from top to bottom with brocade, and the pavement with rich carpets.—Bernier, pp. 269-270 Ed. 1914.

Page 50.—[87] When Shivaji went to pay his respects to Aurangzeb, he saw him sitting well armed and well protected. He had also two thousand of his best warriors near about him.—Marathi Daftar. Shedgaonkar's Bakhar, p. 52.

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Page 50.—[88] Shivaji's appearance at the court of Delhi (Agra) in the year 1666, was a wonderful phenomenon. It occurred only once and was never to do so again. Where are our poets, painters, and romancists that they cannot revive for us the elements of this story and body forth the spirit of the time, a story in which the deepest pathos, the wildest ambition, tragedies known and unknown, love strong as death and hatred cruel as the grave, are lying together in one mighty heap ready for the great magician? If Scott had been in India, he would have soon worked up the subject with all his boast of heraldry and pomp of power into glowing colours, for, the period, the place, and the persons, engaged in this transaction, render it one of the most attractive in the history of India. The possibilities of the case also make the defects all the more glaring in any narrative that we could ever hope to place before the reader.—Bombay and Western India by J. Douglas p. 359.

Page 71.—[89] Mukund of Maroo called Nahurkhan (the tiger-lord) conveyed Soortan the Deorah prince to Jaswantsing of Jodhpur who said he must introduce him to the king. The Deorah prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deorah replied, " His life was in the king's hands, his honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." As Jaswant had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance and instead of introducing him as usual, they showed him a wicket, knee-high and very low overhead by which to enter, but putting his feet foremost, his head

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was the last part to appear. This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing, and his long protracted resistance, added to Jaswant's pledge, won the king's favour; and he not only offered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire.—Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. II. pp. 53-54.

Page 89.—[90] Umra was one of the sons of Raja Gaj and the elder brother of Maharaja Jaswantsing of Jodhpur. He was exiled by his father in his life time and Jaswantsing was declared heir to the Gadi of Marwar. Umra went to the Emperor at Delhi and obtained the domain of Nagore from him. He was fined for absenting himself from the court for 15 days. Shah Jehan reprimanded him for neglecting his duties and fined him. Umra refused to pay the fine and putting his hand on his sword said that that was his sole wealth. On an officer being sent to exact the fine Umra insulted him. The officer departed and complained to the Emperor against Umra's insolent behaviour towards his Majesty. Umra was called to court and when he went there he saw the officer near about the Emperor and in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had received, perhaps at the king's conformation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king. When with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Salabat the officer who had abused him, to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartment. All was uproar and confusion. Umra continued the work of death, indifferent upon whom the blows fell, and five Mogul chiefs of eminence had fallen, when his brother-in-law Urjun Gore

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under pretence of cajoling him, inflicted a mortal wound though he continued to ply his dagger until he expired. His wife the princess of Bundi came in person and carried away the dead body of Umra with which she committed herself to the flames.-Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. II. pp. 43-44.

Page 97.—[91] A story which Mackintosh heard at Hyderabad seventy years ago (1808) has come down to us. It appears that when a prisoner at Delhi (Agra) he exercised his glamour gift so effectively that one of the princesses of the house of Timur, a daughter of Aurangzeb, was devoured by love for him. No doubt a glance from behind the purdah did it all. However it lasted her for life. Shivaji was told by the cruel parents and she also, no doubt, that the marriage could not come off unless he became a Muslim. This could not be, and it is an affecting instance of the power and endurance of youthful affection that Moti Bowriya such was her pet name, never married; and twentyseven years after Shivaji was dead and burned, tended his grand-son and carefully watched his upbringing. The reader will not marvel at it when he reflects that from her earliest years she had been hearing about Shivaji, of his courage and heroism and deep devotion to his country. of his love for his parents and his Gods,—the one man outside the Mogel Empire who stood conspicuous for his exalted patriotism, the idol of the Maratha nation. What could she know of the state-craft with which his destiny was interwoven. She simply saw in Shivaji her father's guest and nothing else and lavished her affections on him. I have no doubt Alamgir—her father after this "sent him to hell" a common Muslim expression in these days for people who were lost to the world. Shivaji was not however lost to the world, for he escaped from Delhi

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(Agra) as Paul did from Damascus—in a basket.—Western India by J. Douglas, p. 333.

According to Catrou, Zebunnissa, the eldest daughter of Aurangzeb, was a more ambitious princess. She had once proved a valuable auxiliary to her aunt (Raushan Ara) sharing in her gallantries, but she now quarrelled with, and sought to supplant her. She supplied her father with information about her aunt's irregularities, and Raushan Ara soon disappeared for ever from the scene. It was said, she was removed by poison. This was before the Emperor (Aurangzeb) left for Kashmir. Zebunnissa Begum, better known by her political name Khufi (concealed) now took her aunt Raushan Ara's place in the harem. She was born of a Mahomedan princess on 5th February 1639. The Emperor devoted personal attention to her studies, and she soon became a learned and accomplished lady. At an early age she committed the Koran to memory, and for this meritorious act was rewarded by His Majesty with 30 thousand gold Mohurs. She was well versed in Arabic and Persian and was skilled in various modes of writing, such as Nastalik (a fine round hand) and composed excellant prose and poetry. She was also the author of some books. Her library was most extensive, containing several thousands of volumes on religious and literary subjects. She had in her employ a large staff of learned men, poets, authors, pious men, and men versed in caligraphy. Mulla-safi-Udin Arzbegi stayed under her orders in Kashmir, and wrote the translation of Taf-Sir-i-Kabir, which was after her name, called, Zebut Tafasir. Numerous other compilations and original works were dedicated to her. Zebunnissa exercised an ascendancy in the court and over her imperial father, that was felt and known. She was

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thoroughly proficient in Arabic and Persian, and, by her sagacity and wisdom, made herself complete master of the court politics. According to Manoucci "she was worshipped as the dominant star of the Mughals." In 1664 when she was 25 years of age she advised Aurangzeb to travel to Kashmir for the benefit of his health. She urged the matter from consideration of self aggrandisement. She was anxious to show the world her superior position in the court and was envious to appear, in her turn, amid a pompous and magnificent equipage, as her aunt had done before her. Aurangzeb was most reluctant to move to Kashmir as long as his father was alive in Agra. On the other hand, it was feared that the approaching heat of summer would be injurious to his health, and a relapse of his disease was apprehended. Thus, to stay at Delhi was to risk his life; to march to Kashmir was to risk his Empire. A parricide was contemplated. The Emperor consulted his daughter on the subject. Zebunnissa allayed her father's fears, and dissuaded him from committing the crime he had contemplated. The old monarch (Shah Jehan) was now in his seventy fifth year, and she begged her father to let him pass the few remaining days of his life in peace. Notwithstanding the admonition of Zebunnissa, grave suspecion rests upon Aurangzeb of having carried out the contemplated parricide. A European physician:(?) whose name is not known, was sent for to treat the aged monarch, and his death was announced soon afterwards. Zebunnissa congratulated her father on the event.—Agra, Historical and Descriptive, pp. 49-50. by K. B. Syed Latif,

Page 98,—[92] It was not Zebunnisa but her sister Zinat-un-nissa who managed Aurangzeb's household in the Deccan during his 25 year's stay there, and this prin-

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cess might have taken pity on the boy Shahu, though no mention of it is made in any history. Zebunnissa was not present in Aurangzeb's camp in his Deccan campaign. She was in Selimgad near Delhi where she died in 1702 A. D.—Article by Prof. J. Sarkaar in the Modern Review, July, 1916, p. 12.

Page 98.—[93] There is some mystery about this interview. Khafi Khan says with little probability, that Aurangzeb was not aware of lavish promises which had been made to Shivaji in his name by Jaising. Bernier and Fryer explain Aurangzeb's coldness, by the clamour of the women, who, like Shaista's wife, had lost their sons by the hands of the Marathas. The risk of assassination by the injured relatives of his victims may well have given Shivaji a motive for escape from Delhi, but the vengeful appeals of the women could not have dictated Aurangzeb's policy. He never budged an inch from his set purpose to gratify a woman's wish. The rumour that he connived at Shivaji's escape as mentioned by Fryer, in order to make a friend of the man whose life he thus saved, is improbable. Aurangzeb certainly believed that he had more to gain by Shivaji's death than by his friendship, which he despised; and subsequent events showed that the Maratha did not consider himself at all beholden to Aurangzeb for his safety.—Lane Poole's Aurangzeb, page, 165.

Page 100.—[94] The Emperor seemed at first to have played a waiting game to keep Shiva under surveillance in order to prevent his escape and to decide after the conclusion of the Deccan campaign if and when he would be released. At first Ramsing was ordered to stand bail and security for the good conduct and presence of Shiva at Agra. Jaising protested against this responsibility being thrown on his son and urged the latter to try his

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best to be relieved of it. After a short time, Aurangzeb changed his mind, evidently because he distrusted a Hindu Prince as the keeper of another Hindu Prince, and for a few days talked of taking Shiva out of his bail and sending him to Afganistan, where he would be beyond the possibility of escape, as was actually done in the case of Netaji Palkar afterwards. But the idea was soon dropped.—Shivaji and his Times by Prof. J. Sarkar, p. 181.

Page 101.—[95] Jaising's reply to the Emperor's letter as to what promises he had given to Shivaji before he left for Agra was, "I have given Shivaji my promise and word and I am still in the midst of my mission here (so that I cannot go to the court to settle the matter personally). Should your Majesty forgive his faults it would be doing a great favour and honour to me and at the same time promoting the Imperial interests and helping on our operations in this quarter." He also gave an assurance that Shiva would not deviate from the path of obedience nor tread that of rebellion. (Despatches).

Page 101.—[96] It has always been a matter of surprise why Aurangzeb did not put Shivaji to death, without all this plotting and scheming. In plain truth he was afraid of an insurrection of the Rajas. Other Hindu Princes besides Jaising had, become sureties for the performance of Aurangzeb's promises. It was on this account that Aurangzeb assumed an unruffled demeanour in the Durbar Hall and plotted in secret for the assassination of Shivaji without exciting the suspecions of the Rajas. Fortunately Aurangzeb's designs were discovered by Ramsing the son of Jaising and Shivaji escaped the trap which had been prepared at Delhi (Agra).—A short History of India by J. Talboy's Wheeler, p. 172.

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Page 101.—[97] An early letter (8th June 1666) from Surat to Karwar gave a somewhat different version: "Here is nothing more of news but the certainty of Sevagy's appearing before this king; where his comportment and behaviour was not suitable to the king's good liking, for which he received a severe check. His spirit could not beare such humiliation as the other Umbrahs, to waite at a distance with their hands before them like mutes. The thoughts thereof putt him into a feavour which the king hearing (tis said) sent to comfort him with promises of great preferment, and t'is reported he is sent to Cabull. But we are too farr from court to tell you at present whether he be sent as Umbrah with power to govern that country, or to be conveniently laid aside; this rumour is mentioned in John Cambells's narrative. (Indian Antiquary. 1908). Thevenot says that Aurangzeb proposed to employ Shivaji in besieging Kandahar.— Factory Records of the Surat Presidency, p. 161, 1665-67.

Page 101.—[97] The rebell Sevagy some 10 months since yielded himself a prisoner into Rajah Jessun, on conditions that his life should be secured. But at his appearance before the king, he would have had him cutt in pieces. On which Rajah Jessun solemnly swore unto the king, that if Sevagy died, hee would kill himself immediately in his presence; after which the king spared his life, but committed him prisoner into the charge of Rajah Jessun's sonne (Ramsing); who with his father having given their word to Sevagy that hee should bee friendly dealt with in case he would submit to the king (for they could never have compelled him to it), and they finding the king, contrary to his word, endeavour to break their promise, took it soe hainously, that the sonne. with the father or through his meanes, gave Sevagy

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opportunities to escape. After notice of which coming to the king's care, he in a rage discarded the Rajah's son, who commanded 6000 horse, and posted Rajah Jessun himself with a great strength to fetch him (Sevagy) again. Also Sevagy's coming to Surat is much feared againe; in soe much that reporte hath given him severall times to have been within a day or two days journey of the place. Which hath caused some times 5 to 6 thousand to pack up their aules and run out of the towne; and when another reporte hath given the first the lie then they have crept in again. But if hee comes, it will bee when the ships arrive from Bussora.—Factory Records. Surat, 1665-67, pp. 175-76.

Page 102.—[98] Jafar Khan, entitled Umadat-Ul-mulk, was appointed Prime minister by Aurangzeb in 1662, and died in 1670 at Delhi. He was the son of Sadik Khan a cousin of Nurjehan's who had married one of her sisters. Jafar Khan's wife was the sister of Amir-Ul-Umrao Shaista Khan. He was thus in kinship with both Aurangzeb and Shaista Khan, the uncle of Aurangzeb.—Bernier, p, 271.

Page 103.—[99] Eventually Aurangzeb sent a messenger to Shivaji to say that he could return to the Deccan, provided he left behind him his son Sambhaji as a hostage. Had Shivaji accepted this condition, he would have had either to sacrifice his eldest son, or to betray his countrymen. He declined it and began at once to consider all possible methods of escape."—History of the Maratha People by Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 219.

The next day the king sent for Ramsing and desired him to tell Shivaji that his leave to quit court depended on one of two conditions either that he should find

security for his good behaviour, or that he should leave his son behind as a hostage. Shivaji told Ramsing in reply, that he would not agree to either of these conditions, but that he would stay there with his son. —Forest's Selections from Bombay Secretariat papers.

Page 106.—[100] Prabhu Ratna Mala, Life of Balaji Aoji Chitnis.—Foot-note, p. 143.

Pape 106.—[101] (Sewajee) Shivaji by his generosity so gained upon his keepers that they were contented with seeing him every morning and evening, after the last of which visits, he constantly retired to sleep, on pretence of illness. "The wise man does that without noise, which a vast army cannot effect."—Scott's History o the Deccan, Vol. II, p. 15.

Shivaji had the magnetic power which only true leaders of men possess and which neither bandits nor mad fanatics can ever claim. He attracted towards himself all that was hopeful and aspiring in the land without distinction of class or caste or creed or colour. His touch made the very grossest of men feel a cleansing fire burning within them.—Rise of the Maratha Power by JusticeRanade, p. 55.

Page 108.—[102]Aurangzeb took no precautions about this (sending of baskets of sweetmeats by Shivaji), acute though he was, for he supposed such presents were sent by Shivaji by reason of his desire to give alms in thanks to God for his freedom. When the adornment of Fida-e-Khan's (Phulad Khan's) mansion was completed he (Aurangzeb) gave orders, under the pretext of honouring him that on the succeeding morning he should be removed to the said mansion, it being intended that he should be smothered there and buried on the spot.—Manucci, Vol. II, p. 139.

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"Next morning they went to remove Shivaji to the mansion where his life was to be taken. They discovered that he had gone."—Manucci, Vol. II. p. 139.

Page 108.—[103] Ramsing, fully carrying out his father's instructions and sufficiently acquainted with Aurangzeb's character had spent money without stint to obtain reports of any orders issued by the king, either in favour of or against Shivaji. He thus heard of the Royal order. Without delay Shivaji was informed, and he sent out to buy the large covered baskets of sweetmeats as usual, Then concealing himself within one, he arranged to be carried away, he and his son, to a place of security, whence with good riding horses he could take flight for his own country. Thus was it carried out. At seven o'clock in the evening, having succeeded in getting away without any one suspecting Shivaji made use of the preparations made in the villages and woods, as arranged by Ramsing, and escaped without detention.—Manucci Vol. II p. 139.

Aurangzeb was much put out by this event, drawing his hand to his head as if plunged in thought he sent orders throughout the realm for Shivaji to be traced. But he was already gone far on his road, traversing in one night what would have taken any one else three days and three nights.—Manucci. Vol. II. p. 140.

Notwithstanding the great watch and guard that was upon him (Sevagy) here is very lately certaine newes come that hee and his sonne are got away, concealled in two baskets and that hee can nowhere be found, so that the jealousies and fears of the country here abouts begin againe to be great.—Factory Records, Surat Presidency, 1665-67, p. 165.

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Our last tould you that Sevagy had made an escape from this king's courte; which is since confirmed for a certaine truth that now all waite some cruell revenge upon the country and people. Wee were lately hotly allarmed upon a reporte that he was come neore with a flying army, that all the people began to flye againe; but the reports proved false; yet let him come when he will, the whole towne will be dispeopled: for none will face him or abide the place.—Factory Records, Surat Presidency. 1665-67 p. 171.

His genius and his good fortune enabled him not only to effect his escape, but to secure from Aurangzeb himself a recognition that he was a power in the land to be conciliated at any cost, till he could be crushed. Shivaji was well aware of Aurangzeb's designs on the Deccan and the last 14 years of his life after his escape from Agra he devoted to the sole purpose of preparing the country to receive and repel the final blow. Forgetting internecine quarrels with the Mahomadan Kingdoms in the south, Shivaji persuaded the Kings of Bijpur andGolconda to enter into offensive or defensive alliances with himself and both these kingdoms profited by his help in repelling the attacks of the mogul generals and consented to pay him tribute in recognition of his serviccs.—Rise of the Maratha Power, by Justice Ranade p. 173, 174.

The stratagem by which Shivaji escaped is too well known to need detailed repetition. But it showed him at his best in the resourcefulness with which he could surmount obstacles and it also signally tried the devotion of his followers.—Rise of the Maratha Power, by Justice Ranade, p. 107.

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Page 109.—[104] When Hiroji Farjand the natural brother of Shivaji was asked by him to take his place on the cot and pretend illness with a view to facilitate his escape from Agra, Hiroji, who looked exactly like Shivaji, folded his hands and touched the feet of his brother and beloved chief and said. "My liege, I am yours, do command me to lay down my life and I obey ; thousands would be prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of one who protects them and whose life is in danger. Your life is in danger and you must escape." Needless to say Shivaji was moved. He knew his men and he knew how to reward them for their fidelity. He gave him his signet ring and departed.—Marathi Daftar, Shedgaonkar's Bakhar, p. 54.

Page 116.—[105] Letters to this effect were some time age found by Mr. Aba Chandorkar while ransacking the files from the records of the Rajopadhyaya family at Satara and which were later on published in the 3rd Annual Session report of the Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal of Poona. It would be interesting to note here that Mudgal Bhatt of Arvi in the Shrigonda Taluka who had all along accompanied Shivaji on his return journey as a Gossain, was the ancestor of the present Rajopadhyayas of Satara. The letters throw a clear light on the part played by Hiroji Farjand and Madari Mehtar after Shivaji left his place in Agra. (Author).

Page 116.—[106] Aurangzeb, whose name is as distinguished in Eastern history as that of any sovereign who ever occupied the throne of India, was one of those characters who in every age and in all countries will rise to distinction. A stranger to the noble generosity and liberal nature of Dara, and inferior to Shuja in personal appearance and powers, he yet eclipsed them

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both in those solid qualities that exalt man above his fellows; abmition was his god, success in life his study; and every gift of his nature, every acquirement of his understanding were bent to the attainment of these objects. Selfish, cruel, and exceedingly well versed in the art of dissembling, he allowed no general impulse to thwart his ambition; no mercy to temper his will; no compunction to interfere with the execution of his plans. Ascetic by nature and a hypocrite by policy, he combined in the imprisonment of his father. and the relentless exterminatlon of his brothers; the venomous craft of Louis XI, with the merciless ferocity of Cæsor Borgia. Under the humble garb of a Faquir he concealed the pride and cruelty of an ambitious and pitiles tyrant, and whilst a hermitage was the professed object of his desires, a throne was the real aim of his life. The Emperor Aurangzeb occupies the same position in Eastern history that Louis XI does in that of Europe; unforgiving and crafty in all the relations of private life, he yet ruled his country with marked success and paralysed his foes as much by his energy as by his deceit. —Conquerors, Warriors, and Statesmen of India by Sir, E. Sullivan, p. 347.

Such was Aurangzeb, a man precisely adapted to gain the day over oll his brothers; to track his unfaltering way through a cloud of mysterious intrigues and a sea of blood to a throne which had hither to been (Shah Jehan excepted) regularly and peacefully transmitted in his family; to reverse the traditional and characteristically mild policy of his predecessors; to rule the Empire with energy and dexterity; and, in the end, through the influence not only of his cankering and infectious vices and his uncompromising and fatal prejudices, but even

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of his very virtues, to break it in pieces like a potter's vessel.—India on the Eve of British Conquest by S. Owen, p. 45.

A man that captured Mir Jumla, a man that made the whole world believe that he was faquir and that he was sick of the world and that he did not care for anything and yet induced Murad as his tool and quietly got rid of him, a man that quietly won over Kasam Khan from Dara's army and caused consternation in the army of Jaswantsing and defeated Dara, who played the same game with Kali Ulla Khan and through his treachery to Dara gained his object, he who sent his own father and son to jail, got Murad, Dara and his sons murdered, touched his forehead and wept with shame. He was bearded in his own den and completely outwitted by one whom he had upto now treated so lightly. This was a stunning blow to him and it upset him very much. He at once wrote to all officers and to Jaising to arrest Shivaji whereever he was found. He always thought that he was the favourite of Alla but here arose another man who seemed to share the same Alla's greater favour. —Historical Writings, Flower second, by D. S. Joshi.

Page 117.—[107] The Rairi Bakhar on page 27 says :— Shivaji on his escape from his place of confinement went to the house of a Deccan potter who was living in the outskirts of Agra. He had been approached by Hiroji Farjand and the potter had taken an oath to help Shivaji. He harboured him for about a month and when the coast was clear and things seemed to have cooled down then Shivaji did away with his beard and locks, assumed the role of a Gossain and moved towards the north. Niraji Raoji knew many languages. He was made the Mahant i. e. the leader of the band of Gossains and thus equipped they all issued out to perform a journey, beset with all kinds of dangers.



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The Emperor had never had so formidable an enemy on foot against him. The chagrin which he felt on that account threw him into a distemper which lasted for some time.—Imperial India by V. C. Prinsep, p. 220.

Jaising, the Mirza Raja, the title by which he is best known restored by his conduct the renown of the Cuchwaha name which had been tarnished by the two unworthy successors of Raja Maun. He performed great services to the Empire during the reign of Aurangzeb, who bestowed upon him the munsub of six thousand. He made prisoner the celebrated Shivaji, whom he conveyed to court, and afterwards, on finding that his pledge of safety was likely to be broken, was accessory to his liberation. But this instance of magnanimity had been more than counterbalanced by his treachery to Dara, in the War of Succession, which crushed the hopes of that brave prince. These acts, and their consequences, produced an unconquerable haughtiness of demeanour which determined the tyrannical Aurangzeb to destroy him. The chronicle of Amber says that Jaising had twenty two thousand Rajput cavalry at his disposal, and twenty two great vassal chiefs, who commanded under him; that he would sit with them in Durbar, and holding two glasses one of which he called Delhi, the other Satara. and dashing one to the ground, would exclaim "there goes Satara; the fate of Delhi is in my right hand and this with like facility I can cast away." These vaunts reaching the Emperor's ear, he had recourse to the same diabolical expedient which ruined Marwar, of making a son the assassin of his father. He promised the succession to the Gadi of Amber to Keerutsing, younger son of the Raja, to the prejudice of his elder brother Ramsing, if he effected the horrid deed. The wretch having perpetrated

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the crime by mixing poison in his father's opium, returned to claim the investiture; but the Emperor only gave him the district of Kamah. From this period says the Chronicle, Amber (Jaipur) declined.—Annals of Amber, Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. II. p. 342.

Page 117.—[109] As to the Omrahs of the court the news of Shivaji's adroitness in eluding the vigilant guard set on his movements and the daring escape from the hands of his imperial captor evoked feelings of undisguised admiration. The opinion was freely expressed that it was scarcely in accord with the traditions of the imperial greatness and Statesmanship that one whose loyal co-operation with the Empire had been secured by such a pillar of the Mogul monarchy as the trusty and valorous Jaising, should have been entrapped into an unworthy and treacherous servitude instead of having been welcomed and treated with hospitality. The Emperor thus lost for ever the active participation of a brave and resolute leader in the military councils of the Empire whose services in the Deccan conquests were bound to be invaluable. A willing ally had been turned into a relentless antagonist. Fortune had all along seemed to smile upon all his enterprises. With such a foe in the Deccan, what would the fortunes of the Empire avail against the southern principalities ? And Shivaji's ability was as notable as his good fortune. Such a talented leader had once espoused the Mogul cause, but who could now expect him to do the like again. Such and other criticisms, rumour brought to the ears of the disconsolate Emperor.— Takakhao's Life of Shivaji Maharaj, p. 290.

Page 118.—[110] The escape of Shivaji was fraught with vast political consequences. In four months after

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his return he reconquered all the forts which he had signed away by the treaty of Purandhar to the Mogul Emperor. At every station where the East India Company had an agent it was the subjcet of conversation and issues of Shivaji's flight vibrated for a century from one end of the Indian peninsula to the other.—Western India by James Douglas.

Page 122.—[111] It is given out that Krishnaji, one of the three brothers at Mathura, who had many times performed pilgrimages in the North, did undertake to guide and lead Shivaji back to the Deccan. None of Shivaji's party had ever visited the North and it would have been very perilous for him, disguised though he was, to return safely to the Deccan. The real gossains are a wandering class and he would not have gained his object by joining them. So it was quite necessary to have some one who would safely conduct him and that some one was found in Krishnaji who turned out to be the brother-in-law of Shivaji's most trusted and valiant minister Moropant Pingle of undying fame. Now let us see how Krishnaji led the pseudo gossains. From a life of Ramdas the spiritual Guru of Shivaji, written by Giridhar Swami called Samartha Pratap, we learn that the following monasteries or Maths were actually in existence when Shivaji undertook his journey from Rajgad to Agra and from Agra back again to the Deccan.

1. Ahmednagar, the Mahant in charge being...Deodas.
2. Tapipur, on the river Tapti, „ „ „ „ ...Krishna.
3. Surat „ „ „ „ „ „ ...Janardan.
4. Onkar Mandhata on the river Narbuda „ ...Gangadhar.
5. Ujjain ... ... „ „ „ „ ...Raghunath.
6. Gwalior ... ... „ „ „ „ ...Bramhdas.

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7. Mathura on the river Jumna „ „ „ „ .Hari Krishna.
8. Prayag (Allahabad). on the confluence of the rivers Ganges & Jumna „ „ „ ...BeniMadhav.
9. Benares on the river Ganges „ „ „ ...Ramchandra.
10. Ayodhya Oudh on the river Sharayu ... ... „ „ ...Ramkrishna.
11. Hardwar on the river Ganges „ „ „ ...Jaikrishna.
12. Badri Kedar in the Himalayas „ „ ...Dayal.
13. Antar Vedi (country between the rivers Ganges & Jumna „ „ „ ...Harish-chandra.
14. Gangasagar near the mouth of the Ganges „ „ „ „ ...Harbans.
15. Berar ... ... „ „ „ „ ...Balkrishna.
16. Deogad (in Gondavan) „ „ „ ...Damodar.
17. Ramtek (near Nagpur) „ „ „ ...Shridar,
18. Telangan ... ... „ „ „ ...Sheoram.
19. Bedar ... ... „ „ „ ...Ram.
20. Deogiri ... ... „ „ „ ...Anand.
21. Indur Bodhan ... (Godavari river) „ „ „ ...Uddhav.
22. Kalyan near Gulburga „ „ „ ...Mudgal.
23. Bid ... ... „ „ „ ...Giridhar Swami
24. Gokarn on the Western Coast „ „ ...Bhairav.

It has also been said that one Vishwanath who was solely devoted to Ramdas, who thought of going to Benares, did receive inspiration and that he at once started

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on pilgrimage to the North. From the list of some of the places where Shri Ramdas had established his Maths it would be apparent that some of them were on Shivaji's route to the North. Krishnaji went through Prayag, Benares, Gaya, Jagannath, Cuttak, Chanda, Deogad, and through Gondavana entered into the Mogul territory through which the river Godavari passed. To our mind he must have received assistance direct or indirect from the Mahants of these Maths through which he passed. There is no direct proof for this but it is a surmise which we think may not be wrong. (Author.)

Page 124.—[112] Shivaji travelled from Mathura by the route of Allahabad and Benares to Gaya. From whence after meeting two officers whom he had sent on before; he travelled, accompanied by them, to Cuttock. Here, being much fatigued, he ventured to buy a sorry horse; but not having silver ready to pay for it, unguardedly opened a purse of gold. The news of his escape having reached this city, the owner of the horse, who was suspecious at seeing a person in the dress of a beggar with so much money, said, "Surely you must be Sewajee in disguise, as you offer such a sum for a sorry horse." Sewajee made no reply, but gave him the purse, and departed with all speed to Jagannath, from whence after performing the customary worship, he travelled through Hyderabad to his own country.—Scott's History of the Deccan, Vol. II. p. 16.

Page 126.—[113] Shivaji's power of endurance is a perfect mystery. Take his flight from Delhi (Agra). All the way from Mathura to Allahabad on foot, and disguised as a Jogi, his face and body rubbed with ashes, swimming rivers with his Kapra (clothes) on his head to keep it dry, outrunning the swiftest couriers of the Great Mogul, and

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this during the monsoon through a thickly wooded country from Allahabad to Benares, from Benares to Gaya, from Gaya to Cuttock, and from Cuttock through the great forests of Chanda and Deogad to Hyderabad and from thence to Bijapur and thence to Rajgad.—Bombay and Western India by J. Douglas, p. 337.

Page 126.—[114] Vide Rairi Bakhar page 27:—Shivaji after visiting Cuttock and Jagannath Puri, entered into the Gond country and passed through Deogad and Chanda and arrived into the Mogul territory on the bank of the Godavari. He passed through Indur (not Indore) in the Sarkar of Nanded and entered into the Sarkar of Mujafar Nagar or Malikhed. (The Kodwali village mentioned in the Rairi Bakhar seems to be Kodole which was then a Mahal. This requires verification.)

Page 126.—[115] Shivaji went to Chanda, and from there to the district of Indure (in H. E. H. Nizam's dominions now). He soon afterwards passed the Godavari and reached a village, where some of his own horse under Anandrao and Telangrao had been plundering a short time before. Shivaji and his attendants remained the night at the house of the Patil. The Patil's wife told him that Shivaji's troops had destroyed their village, and that she wished to God, that Shivaji might die in confinement at Delhi; and she, little thinking that he was present, abused Shivaji in the most violent terms. Shivaji looked towards Niraji and smiled. He made a note of the name of the village and of the woman.—E. J. Frissel in G. W. Forrest's Selections from the letters, despatches and other state papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Vol. I, part I, p. 17.

Page 127.—[116 & 117] We have seen that he left Rajgad early in March 1666; it was the close of the Ramjan.

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He arrived in Delhi (Agra) on the anniversary day of His Majesty's accession in May. The date of his escape was the last day of Safar. He was thus about four months in Agra and finally reached Rajgad in December (in the third week of November) of the same year. His flight, we make out, occupied three months and embraced some of the wettest portions of the year, which means mud and sludge. Except the ride to Mathura (Muttra) on horse-back with Sambhaji behind him, he did all the journey on foot. He had Deccan runners with him and subsidised natives who knew the country, for he did not want for money or its equivalent in diamonds concealed on his person. Much of his course was through dense jungle disguised as a Bairagee or faquir, but he often changed his dress and his route was a circuitous one to baffle his pursuers for hundreds of men were sent after the fugitive. His mile-stones were Agra, Mathura, Prayag, or Allahabad, crossing the Jumna by an unfrequented ferry, Benares, Patna, Gaya, Katak (Cuttock) Chanda, Deogad, Indure, Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) and Bijapur. The reader will see by a glance at the map that his track was altogether out of the direct way across Oudh, Behar, Orissa, and Gondawana through forest and swamp, among Gonds and Kolis, a big walk of 1500 to 2000 miles. His start and arrival a strange contrast! He left Raigad on an elephant occupying the same Howdah as Jaising, his chain armour glittering in the sun and hundreds of his Maratha horse, caracoling on the plain of Pachad. On arriving at Rajgad after his nine months absence his beard was shaved and he resembled a half—naked ascetic, a dhoti round his loins was all his covering. When he fell at his mother's feet she did not know him but as soon as he pulled his head-

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gear she recognised her long lost son and clasped him to her arms."—Western India, by James Douglas.

Page 129.—[118]Shivaji reached his country ten months after he had left it and found everything just in the condition in which he had left it. This visit to Delhi (Agra) represented the first great crisis in Maratha history. The Mogul armies occupied the plains and the forts; Shivaji and his son were prisoners at Delhi (Agra); and yet there was not a single person who proved traitor to his country or joined the enemy. The Government was carried on as if nothing had happened. Every body remained firm at his post, and when news arrived that he had escaped from Delhi (Agra) and returned home it spread like fire and the war was commenced with greater ardour and vigour than before.—Rise of the Maratha power by Justice M. G. Ranade, p. 107.

Page 129.—[119] Now let us see what others say about Aurangzeb's attitude towards the Hindus:—"Hindu writers have been entirely excluded from holding public offices, and all the worshipping places of the infidels and the great temples of these infamous people have been thrown down and destroyed in a manner which excites astonishment at the successful completion of so difficult a task. His Majesty (Aurangzeb) teaches the sacred Kalima to many infidels with success and invests them with Khilats and other favours"—History of India as told by its own Historians, Mirat-i Alam by Bakhtawarkhan. Vol. VII p. 159.

Prohibition of the Hindu teaching and worship. "It reached the ear of His Majesty, the Protector of the Faith, that in the provinces of Thatta, Multan, Benares, but especially in the latter, foolish Brahmins were in the

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habit of expounding frivolous books in theirs chools, and that students and learners, Mussalmans as well as Hindus went there, even from long distances, led by a desire to become acquainted with the wicked sciences they taught. The Director of the Faith (Aurangzeb) consequently issued orders to all the Governors of provinces to destory with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels, and they were strictly enjoined to put an entire stop to the teaching and practising of idolatrous forms of worship. In obedience to this order the Government officers destroyed the temple of Bishwanath at Benares. He also commanded the destruction of the Hindu temple of Mathura and soon that stronghhold of falsehood was levelled with the ground. The foundation of a vast mosque was laid on the same spot. This den of iniquity had been erected by Narsing Deo Bundela. Glory to God who has given us faith of Islam that in this reign of the destroyer of false Gods, an undertaking so difficult of accomplishment has been brought to a successful termination. The vigorous support given to the true faith, was a severe blow to the arrogance of the Rajas, and like idols, they turned their faces awe-struck to the wall. The richly jewelled idols taken from the pagan temples were transferred to Agra, and there placed beneath the steps leading to the Nawab-Begum Sahib's mosque in order that they might ever be pressed under foot of the true believers. (Saki-Musta-idd-khan's Ma-asir-i Alam giri.)— Elliott and Dowson's History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol. VII. p, 183

Khan Jahan Bahadur arrived from Jodhpur bringing with him several cart loads of idols, taken from the Hindu temples that had been razed. His Majesty gave him great praise. Most of these idols were adorned with

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precious stones, or made of gold, silver and other metals. It was ordered that some of them should be cast away in the out-offices and the remaining placed beneath the steps of the grand mosque there to be trampled under foot. There they lay a long time, until at last not a vestige of them was left.—Page, 187.

Khan Jahan Bahadur obtained the permission of the Emperor to proceed to Udaipur with Rahulla Khan and Yakkalaz Khan to effect the destruction of the temples of the idolaters. These edifices situated in the vicinity of the Rana's palace were among the wonders of the age and had been erected by the infidels to the ruin of their souls, and the loss of their wealth. It was here that some 20 Rajputs had resolved to die for their faith. One of them slew many assailants of his, before receiving his death blow. Another followed and another; until all had fallen, many of the faithful also being despatched before the last of these fanatics had gone to hell. The temple was now clear and the pioneers destroyed the images. Aurangzeb visited Udaisagar and he ordered all three of the Hindu temples to be levelled with the ground. Hassan Ali Khan reported to His Majesty that the temple situated near the palace and one hundred and twenty two more in the neighbouring districts had been destroyed. This Chieftain was for his distinguished services invested with the title of Bahadur.—p. 187.

Page 129.—[120] Such was the "Liberator" of the Maratha nation a man of talents so varied, of life so regular, of disposition so tolerent, that it is little wonder that his countrymen came to regard him not as one of themselves but as the incarnation of God. His kingdom has long passed away; but the Maratha people still

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worship his image at Rajgad and Malwan; just as the Athenians, long after their empire had ceased to exsist, continued to worship with pathetic devotion the memory of Theseus.—A History of the Maratha people by Kincaid and Paresnis, Vol. I. p. 277.

Page 130—[121] For the history of Western India, there is nothing more appalling than the amount of material in English, French, Portuguese, Italian, Dutch, Persian, and Arabic, even Chinese is laid under contribution.

These remarks apply in part to Shivaji, the greatest man in Maratha history. Though many people have vague notions about him, the books letters, and journals in several languages, from which the story of his life may be gathered, are so full and minute in every particular, that a work like Lord Haile's annals of Scotland, though it was praised by Dr. Johnson, becomes in comparison dry annal or mere conjecture. The obvious defects of this sketch are therefore not due to want of materials. —Bombay and Western India by J. Douglas, 1893, Vol. I. p. 332.

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APPENDIX—A.

# Shivaji's letter to Jaising.

1. O Sardar of Sardars, King of Kings, Manager of the mango-trees of the garden of Bharat.

2. O piece of the heart and consciousness of Ramchandra, the Rajputs hold up their heads owing to thee.

3. The grandeur of the Empire of Babar's dynasty is rendered all the more powerful owing to thee and it is its good fortune to receive thy help.

4. O Jay Shah, whose fortune is ever young and whose intellect ever old, be pleased to accept the salutations and blessings of Shiva.

5. May the Creator of the world protect thee. May He show thee the path of Religion which is Justice.

6. I have heard that thou hast come to make battle upon me and to subjugate the Deccan.

7. Thou desirest in this world to make thy face glow with blood drawn from the hearts and the eyes of the Hindus.

8. But thou knowest not that thy face is painted in black, because owing to it, this country and religion are in danger.

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9. If thou considerest for a moment or givest thought to thy hands and thy strength,

10. Then thou wilst discover whose blood lends the glow and what will be the colour of the glow in this world and the next.

11. Further, if thou hadst come of thy own accord to conquer the Deccan, my eyes and my head could have been laid on earth for thee to tread upon.

12. I would have marched with my whole force at the stirrup of thy horse and would have yielded up to thee the country from one end to the other.

13. But thou hast in fact come to conquer at the instance of Aurangzeb and under the instigation of those who desire to destroy the Hindus.

14. I do not know how I shall deal with thee. If I join thee, there is no manliness in it.

15. For, brave men are not time servers. The lion pursues not the policy of the fox.

16. Or, if I lift up the sword and the axe, then the Hindus on both sides will suffer.

17. The greater sorrow is that my sword, which thirsts for the blood of the Mussalmans, should be drawn from the scabbard for some other purpose.

18. If the Turks had come to fight this battle, then indeed the prey would have come to the lion in its lair,

19. For, they are Rakshasas in the guise of men devoid of justice and religion, and sinful.

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20. When supremacy could not be secured by Afzul Khan, and Shaista Khan proved no better,

21. Thou art engaged to fight me because he (Aurangzeb) himself is not fit to bear battle with me.

22. He desires that no strong persons should be left surviving among the Hindus in this world,

23. That lions may fight among themselves and disabled, so that the fox may rule the forest.

24. How is it that his secret policy is not transparent to thy brain? It is clear that thou art under the influence of his magic spell.

25. Thou hast seen much good and evil in this world; thou hast reaped both flowers and thorns in the garden of life.

26. Is it not meet that thou shouldst fight us-people and bring the heads of Hindus to death?

27. After having attained ripe wisdom in action, do not then exhibit (the folly of) youth, but remember the saying of Saadi:

28. "The horse cannot be ridden on all the roads; sometimes discretion is the better part of valour". (Lit. sometimes it is more fitting to throw down the shield and fly).

29. Tigers attack the deer and other animals. They do not indulge in a fratricidal war with lions.

30. Or, if thy cutting sword has true water, if thy prancing horse has true spirit,

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31. Then do thou attack those who are the enemies of religion and abolish Islam root and branch.

32. Had Dara Shekoh been King of the country, he would have treated his people with kindness and favours.

33. But thou deceivedst Jaswantsing; thou didst not first consider the high and the low in thy heart.

34. Thou art not satisfied with having played the fox and hast come to fight the battle with the lions.

35. What dost thou get from this running about and labouring under the Sun? Thy desires lead thee to a mirage.

36. Thou art even as a mean creature who exerts his utmost and captures a beautiful damsel,

37. But, instead of tasting the fruit of that garden of beauty himself, delivers it into the hands of his rival.

38. How canst thou feel proud at the mercy of that mean man? Dost thou know how the services of Joharsing were rewarded?

39. Dost thou know by what means he desired to bring calamities to Prince Chhatra Sal?

40. Dost thou know what calamities that sinful man has left inflicted on other Hindus also?

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41. I believe that thou hast attached thyself to him and hast laid down for him the self-respect of thy family.

42. But what is the value of this net in which thou art caught for the sake of the Rakshasa? This bond that binds thee is not stronger than the cord of the paijama that you wear.

43. In order to attain his ends, he hesitates not to shed the blood of his brother, or to take the life of his father.

44. Or, if thou appealest to loyalty, remember thou also thy conduct in reference to Shah Jahan.

45. If fate has endowed thee with any intellect or if thou seekest to pride thyself on thy manhood or manliness,

46. Then dot hou heat thy sword at the fire of distress of the land thou wast born in, and wipe off the tears of the unhappy ones who suffer from tyranny.

47. This is not the time for fighting between ourselves since a grave danger faces the Hindus.

48. Our children, our country, our wealth, our God, our temples and our holy worshippers,

49. Are all in danger of existence owing to his machinations and the utmost limit of suffering, that can be borne, has been reached.

50. If the work goes on like this for some time, there will not remain a vestige of ourselves on the earth.

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51. It is a matter of supreme wonder that a handful of Mussalmans should establish supremacy over this vast country.

52. This supremacy is not due to any valour on their part. See, if thou hast eyes to see.

53. See, what policy of duplicity he plays with us, how differently he colours his face from time to time.

54. He claps our own chains to our feet; he cuts our heads with our own swords.

55. The most strenuous efforts should be made at this time to protect Hindus, Hindusthan and the Hindu Religion.

56. I desire to make an effort and bring about stability and strive my utmost for the sake of the country.

57. Polish thy sword and thy intellect and prove thyself a Turk to the Turks.

58. If thou joinest hands with Jaswantsing and divestest thy heart of the layers of trickery,

59. And if thou bringest about unity with the Raj Rana (of Mewar), then indeed there is hope for great things.

60. Do you all rush and fight from all sides; tramp down that serpent under the rock;

61. So that he may for some time occupy himself with ruminating on the consequences of his own actions; and may not further entangle the Deccan in his meshes;

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62. And I may in the meantime with the aid of these and other lance bearing heroes make away with the other two Sultans (of Bijapur and Golkonda);

63. So that I may rain the shower of swords from the thundering clouds of my army on the Mussalmans;

64. So that, from one end of the Deccan to the other, I may wipe out the name and very vestige of Mahomedanism;

65/66. Thereafter, with the assistance of wise statesmen and the army, like the river swirling and foaming as it emerges from the mountains of the Deccan, I may come out into the plains;

67. And forthwith present myself for service with you, and then after that hear you render your accounts.

68. And then we - four - may again inaugerate a grim war and devote the battlefield to it;

69. And then the tide of our armies may be made to reach the crumbling walls of Delhi,

70. So that nothing may be left of the Aurang (throne) or the Zeb (lust), so that nothing may remain of the sword of his tyranny or the net of his policy of duplicity or dissimulation;

71. So that we may flow a river full of pure blood, and with that we may satisfy the souls of our ancestors; and

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72. With the grace of God, the Just and the Giver of life, we shall entomb him (Aurangzeb) in the bowels of the earth.

73. If two hearts combine, they can burst a mountain, they can dispel and scatter the whole armies.

74. This is not a very difficult task, we only want good hearts, good eyes, and good hands. These are the really necessary things.

75. I have much to tell thee in regard to this matter which cannot in sooth be put on paper.

76. I am desirous of having a talk with thee so that no unnecessary pain or labour may be involved.

77. If such is thy desire, I shall come to thee and hear what thou hast to say.

78. Thy maiden of speech may open her mouth in privacy, and I may take guard against the words being divulged;

79. So that we put our hands to the plough of effort and practise some incantation on that mad Rakshasa.

80. I swear by my sword, by my horse, by my country, and by my religion, that no harm shall befall thee in this.

81. Or, we may find out some other way to attain our object and make our names in this world and the next.

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82. Be not suspicious owing to the incident of Afzul Khan—the report spoke not truly.

83. He had secretely kept twelve hundred warlike Habsee cavalry to accomplish my death.

84. Had I not raised my arm against him first, who would have written this letter to you?

85. But I do not believe any such thing of you; there is no inherent enmity between us.

86. Or, if I receive the desired reply from thee, I shall present myself before thee alone at night,

87. And I will show thee the secret letters which I cleverly extracted from Shaista Khan,

88. So that I may remove all doubts from thy mind and rouse thee from thy sweet sleep;

89. I may show thee the true result of thy dreams and then receive any answer;

90. Or, if this letter does not appeal to thee, then indeed I am ready with my sword to deal with thy army.

91. To-morrow, the moment the sun shall conceal his face behind the evening cloud, the crescent moon of my sword shall flash forth. That is all. God be with thee.

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APPENDIX—B

# The Diwan-i-Ām

On one side of the great courtyard is the Diwan-i-Ām or Hall of Public Audience, the judgment seat of Akbar, where the court receptions were held and business was transacted. Here the monarch daily sat on his throne raised, on an estrade, as we still see it, and surrounded with inlaid work of marble. Here he gave audience to his splendid court, received the tributary ruling Chiefs of Hindusthan and the amdassadors and envoys from foreign countries, administered justice and issued orders. At the foot of the alcove, on which the throne was placed, is an immense slate of white marble raised some three feet above the ground on which the ministers took their stand to present and hand up petitions to the Emperor and to receive and convey his commands. It was formerly fenced with silver rails, but they have now disappeared. The hall is 192 feet in length by 64 in breadth. It is an open portico or loggia, the roof being supported by three rows of high pillars placed at regular intervals and connected by saracenic arches of white marble, which give it a majestic appearance. Towards the eastern side is the elevated oblong nitche or gallery before mentioned in which the King took his seat on a throne. The throne described by Edward Terry, Chaplain

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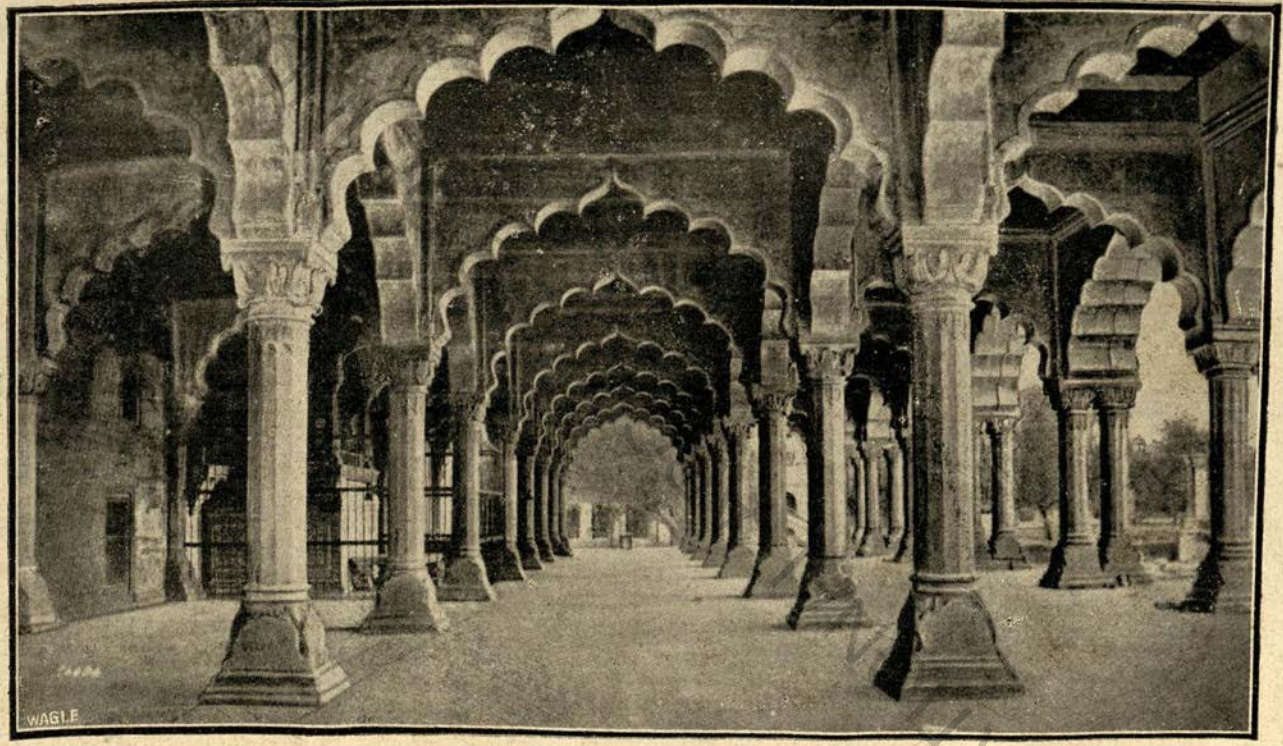


**Diwan -E- Am.**

Lakshmi Art, Bombay, 8.

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of Sir Thomas Roe, was "ascended by steps plated with silver and ornamented with four silver lions, spangled with jewels, which supported a canopy of pure gold." The pavilion is of pure marble, with beautifully carved recesses, and inlaid with mosaics. The court Hall in Akbar's time was properly scented with sweet perfumes and fragrant odours. On this subject, Allami Abul Fazl writes in the Ain:— "The court Hall is continually scented with ambergris, taloe-wood, and compositions according to ancient recipes or mixtures invented by His Majesty; and incense is daily burnt in gold and silver censors of various shapes, while sweet smelling flowers are used in large quantities." The seat Royal was separated by successive railings, the innermost of which, railed from the ground and enclosed by a red rail, was occupied by Princes Royal, ambassadors, high officers of state and nobles and grandees of the first rank. The space within the outer, railing was filled with Chiefs of secondary dignity while a large open area outside the second railing was assigned to the multitude. All stood in respectful silence and enjoyed a full view of His Majesty's person. In this vast court the Ahdis or exempts of the guard, paraded in full armour, while horses and elephants richly caparisoned, were arrayed further on, adding greatly to the brilliancy of the spectacle, which was truly royal.

The ceremony of prostration after the fashion of the Tartar Moguls, was revived by Akbar, and

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was performed during the reign of his successors. As a man entered the first rail which separated the commonalty from the nobility, he was conducted to the seat Royal by two heralds, one on each side, carrying gold maces set with rubies and emeralds, who repeated the King's titles in a loud, monotonous voice. Here he made his first reverence. He then passed through the nobility to the red rail, where he made his second reverence; then, led to the platform, he made his third reverence, and at once found himself among Princes, Rajas, Maharajas, Nawabs, Grandees, Nobles and Lords of great fortune and wealth. The passage intervening between the Naubatkhanah or the Music gallery and the royal throne comprised one hundred and twenty yards; and people were required to bow down lower and lower as they approached the monarch. Nothing upon earth surpassed the grandeur and solemnity of the scene. The presence of the King, the presiding figure of the whole assembly, so glowing with emaralds, diamonds, precious metal, pearls and rubies as to represent one solid mass of gold and gems, and the concourse of the ruling chiefs, foreign ambassadors, and picked nobility of the Empire—all brilliantly clad and displaying in their sumptuous attire the best and choicest riches of the country—inspired deep awe. One unbroken silence prevailed. All stood in solemn silence, motionless like statues, not a soul daring to cast his eyes on the King, no one venturing to raise his

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voice except the masters of ceremonies, and that only to announce to the assembled multitude the King's high sounding attributes and epithets. The Emperor was prepared to hear the meanest of his subjects who desired to make any representation to His Majesty. If any petition was raised from afar in the assembled multitude, it was instantly brought to theEmperor and the contents read to him.

To the right and left of the Hall are galleries of lattice work through which the ladies of the Harem peeped to see the proceedings of the court. A door at the back of the throne admitted the Emperor and his confidential servants to the interior of the Zenana or Seraglio.

The grand Hall of the Diwan-i-Ām opens into a more retired chamber, called the Ghusalkhanah or the place to wash in. Ghusalkhanah, although strictly meaning a bath-room, was the name applied to the more private apartments in a Mogul palace. Few persons were permitted to enter this room, the court of which is not so large as that of the Diwan-i-Ām. The Hall is however very handsome, spacious, gilt and painted and raised four or five feet from the pavement, like a large platform. It is in this place that the King seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports and deliberates on important affairs of state.—Agra-Historical and Descriptive by K. B. Syed Muhammad Latif, pp. 77, 78 and 79.

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APPENDIX—C.

# The Peacock Throne

OR

# Takht-i-Taoos.

In the centre of the Diwan-i-Ām stood the famous Peacock Throne, an excellent description of which is given in the Badshah Namah:—

"Since from time immemorial, and year in and year out, various jewels of great price, each of them worthy to be an ear-ring for Venus and a belt for the Sun, were kept in the Imperial Treasury; early in the beneficent reign, it had occurred to the inspired mind of the Emperor that the collection of such rare presents and accumulation of so many precious things was only meant for the adornment of the Empire and to increase its ornamentation. Therefore they ought to be in a place where spectators might enjoy the world enlightening beauty of the produce of the ocean and the mine, and also they should be an added lustre to the Palace. Orders were issued that all kinds of rubies, diamonds, pearls and emeralds, the value of which was estimated at two hundred lacs of rupees, as well as those jewels in charge of the provincial treasury officers, should be brought for His Majesty's inspec-

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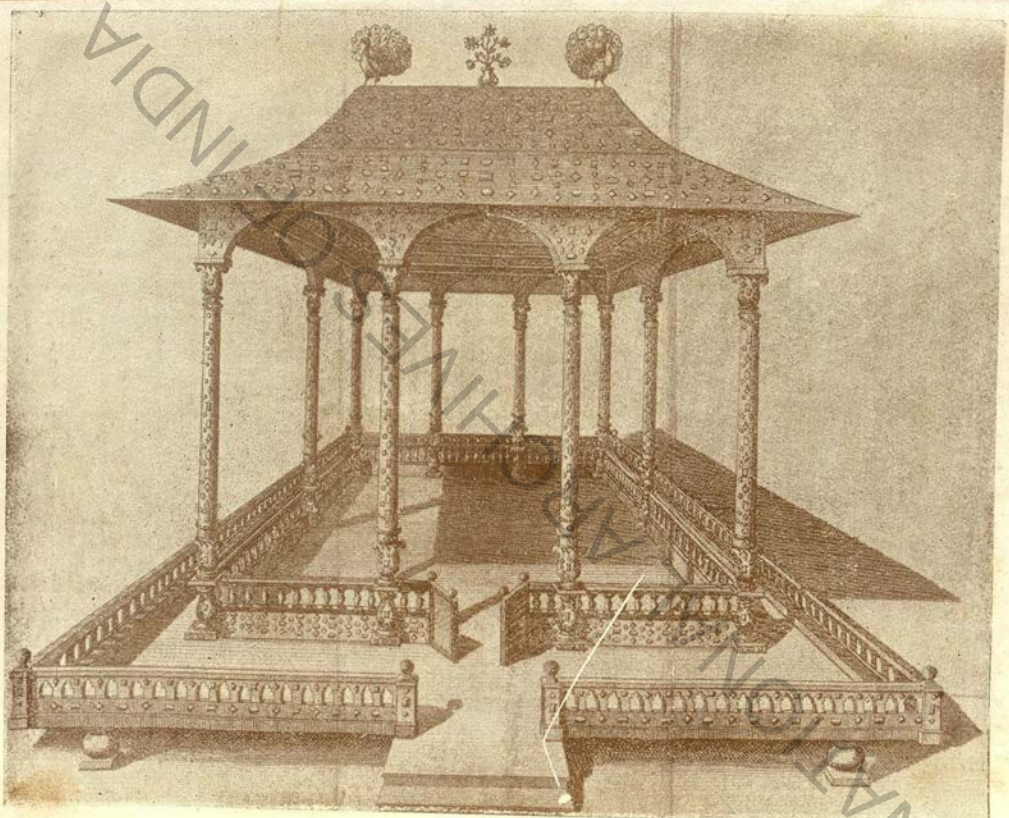

Peacock throne at Delhi.

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tion, excepting only the private jewels, kept in the jewel office of the Heaven-like palace.

Great and valuable jewels the weight of which was fifty thousand mithquals (equal to 1 and 3/7th drams) and the price of which was eighty six lacs of rupees, were selected and entrusted to Bebadal Khan the superintendent of the goldsmith's office, in order that the jewels might be studded in a slab made of one lac of tolas of pure gold, which is equal to two hundred and fifty thousand mithquals, and the price of which was fourteen lacs of rupees. This slab was $3\frac{1}{4}$ gaz by $2\frac{1}{2}$ imperial gaz with a height of 5 gaz.

It was desired that the inside of the ceiling of the throne should be mostly enamelled and the rest set with jewels, and that the outside should be adorned with rubies and other precious stones. It was to be supported by 12 emerald coloured columns. Above the ceiling 2 images of peacocks set in bright gems were to be made, and between them was to be fixed a tree of rubies, diamonds, emeralds and pearls. To ascend the throne three steps studded with beautiful gems were to be prepared.

In the course of seven years this Heaven-like throne was completed at the cost of one hundred lacs of rupees which is equal to three hundred and thirty three thousand tumans of "Iraq" and to

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four crores of "Khani" current in Trans-Oxiana, Mavaran-u-Nahar.

Of the eleven slabs covered with jewels and erected round the throne for leaning against the central one on which the Emperor, a Soloman in rank, leans by placing on it his truth seeking hand, was estimated at ten lacs of rupees. And of the jewels set in the throne there was a ruby in the centre, valued at one lac of Rupees, which Shah Abbas, king of Persia (1585-1628) had sent to his late Majesty (Jahangir) as a present by the hand of Zanbil Beg. His late Majesty had sent it by Allami Afzalkhan to the world conquering Emperor, His Majesty, the second Lord of the happy conjuction, as a reward for "subduing the Deccan." At first, the sublime name of His Majesty the Lord of happy conjuction, (Timur) the pole star of the Faith and of Religion and that of Mirza Shah Rukh, and Mirza Ulagh Beg, were written over it. After some time it fell into Shah Abbas's hand who also put his own name on it and when it was received by His late Majesty, he added his own name with that of his illustrious father. Now it has received fresh light and brightness, and inestimable adornment from the exalted name of the King of Seven Climes and the Emperor of Throne and Crown."

Tavernier's description of the Peacock Throne of the Great Mogul at Agra.-Appendix III, page 471 of Bernier's Travels.

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"It should be stated that the Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds or pearls.

The principal throne, which is placed in the Hall of the First Court, is nearly of the form and size of our camp-beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides there not being any on that which faces the court. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large Badakshan ruby cut en cabuchon with four emeralds round it, which form a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the ruby is in the middle of four emeralds and in another the emerald is in the middle and four Badakshan rubies surround it. The emeralds are table cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all being showy stones, but very flat. There



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are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the King's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others that are placed at his sides are flat. There is to be seen, moreover, a sword suspended from this throne, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones is respectively enriched.

I counted the Badakshan rubies on the great throne and these are about 108 all cabuchons, the least of which weighs 100 carats, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many *flows*; the largest may weigh 60 carats and the least 30 carats. I counted about one hundred and sixteen; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, above the canopy which is a quadrangular shaped dome, there is to be seen a peacock with elevated tail made of blue saphires and other coloured stones, the body being of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a large ruby in front of the breast, from whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of

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50 carats or there abouts, and of somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird and consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne, which is opposite the court, there is to be seen a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight. With rubies and emeralds round it, and when the King is seated he has this jewel in full view. But that which in my own opinion is the most costly thing about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At four feet distance from the throne, there are fixed, on either side, two umbrellas, the sticks of which of 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies and pearls. The umbrellas are of red velvet, and are embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

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